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THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF TUNG CHUNG-SHU (179-104 B.C.):

A CRITICAL EXPOSITION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN PHILOSOPHY

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By

Richard Ralph Vuylsteke

Dissertation Committee:

Chung-ying Cheng, Chairman
Frederic L. Bender
Edward D. Harter
Brian E. McKnight
Tao Tien-yi
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reconstructs and explicates the political philosophy of Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C.) from the extant chapters of the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu. Through a new analysis of the nature of man and how that nature is perfected, the text is shown to yield a coherent philosophical system that joins Tung's theories of the structure and constituent dynamics of the universe with his political theory.

This exposition indicates that before man's original nature is perfected he first must develop a highly refined sense and performance of duties within a hierarchically structured social-political organism. This study provides a conceptual paradigm for Tung's idea of society wherein his analysis of "titles" (hao) and "names" (ming) is expounded in terms of statuses and roles. Tung's cosmological theory provides explanatory and regulatory paradigms for the activities of man and society. These fit man into a complex web of statuses that define his place and duties in society and provide the appropriate context for his education. An analysis of the Mandate of Heaven (t'ien-ming) and related concepts explains the delegation of authority in society and clarifies how duties arise in both political and social statuses.
Statutes assign duties and roles define those actions that fulfill duties. Tung's theories of Yin and Yang, the Five Powers, and the Four Seasons explain how man understands and performs correct roles. Through habitual performance of roles man develops an inner sense of appreciation of duties by internalizing standards of propriety. Man's refined sense of duties can then be expressed in self-directed, creative activity.

According to this interpretation, man and society are perfected concurrently under the necessary guidance of a ruler whose paternalistic authoritarianism is constrained by purposive cosmological forces. These forces, interpreted by the ministers, provide regulatory principles that show the ruler and ministers must interact, following the normative standards of the Way of Heaven (t'ien-tao), in order to educate the people toward goodness and to bring order to society.

This study concludes that Tung's philosophy argues for a disciplined, stable social order governed by a limited monarch, but also preserves a place for individual freedom of action, allowing personal creativity through refined, self-directed participation in society.
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# Abbreviations

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<td>Ch'ung-ch'iu fan-lu</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCFLYC</td>
<td>Ch'ung-ch'iu fan-lu yi-cheng</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPPY</td>
<td>Ssu-pu pei-yao</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPTK</td>
<td>Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an</td>
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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒 ca. 179-104 B.C.) was a Confucian scholar of the Han dynasty. The biography of Tung found in the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Ch'ien Han Shu* 前漢書), compiled by Pan Ku (班固 A.D. 32-92), clearly indicates that he was an exceptional scholar. He was especially interested in studying the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋*) and the *Kung-Yang Commentary* (*Kung-yang chuan* 公羊傳), was officially honored as an "Erudit" or "scholar of wide learning" (*po-shih* 博士) during the reign of Emperor Ching (r. 156-151 B.C.), participated at a formal examination at the imperial court by Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.), served as Prime Minister to two provincial kings, was a prolific writer, and taught numerous students. After he retired from government service he returned home (to what is now southern Hopei province) to teach and write until his death.

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1 These dates are suggested by Su Yu (蘇舆 d. 1914), the editor of the *春秋繁露義證* (*Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu yi-cheng*), hereafter cited as *CCPLYC*. This edition is dated 1910 on the title page, but the preface by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (王先謙 1842-1917) is dated 1914. This edition includes Su Yu's *Tzu-pai* (*Tung-Tzu nian-rac*), a chronicle of Tung's life.

2 *Ch'ien Han Shu*, Ch. 56. (Also called the *Han Shu*.)
Modern scholars, when discussing Han dynasty history and philosophy, invariably indicate that Tung was one of the most important scholars of the period. For example, Dun J. Li states that many important scholars emerged in the Han dynasty period, but "none, however, showed more originality and exercised greater influence than Tung Chung-shu." Tung is called "the seminal Han Confucianist," "the foremost political thinker and philosopher of his age," and "the famous Han Confucianist." The encomia, however, primarily refer to the role of Tung's thought in the Han period and in the historical development of Chinese thought. This study approaches Tung's thought from a philosophical perspective rather than a historical one. This method is explained by Bertrand Russell in the Preface to the first edition of his


6 Hellmut Wilhelm, "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of Fu" in Chinese Thought and Institutions, ed. by John K. Fairbank, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of
Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Liebniz. Russell states that "The history of philosophy is a study which proposes to itself two somewhat different objects, of which the first is mainly historical, while the second is mainly philosophical." In the first instance, when one looks for the history of philosophy, one often finds instead history and philosophy wherein questions concerning a philosopher's historical influences, both of the times and of other philosophers, occupy center stage. To answer such questions, one must examine the considerable body of material concerning the education, politics, and social milieu of the era, then integrate this information with the theoretical tenets of the philosopher in question. Though such work is no doubt interesting and quite often valuable, "it may be doubted how far the topics dealt with in works where these elements predominate can be called properly philosophical." Russell warns that the historical spirit may cause one "to pay so much attention to the relations of philosophies that the philosophies themselves are neglected."  


9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.
On the other hand, Russell states that there is a more fruitful philosophical approach to a historical philosophical position:

But there remains always a purely philosophical attitude toward previous philosophers -- an attitude in which, without regard to dates or influences, we seek simply to discover what are the great types of possible philosophies, and guide ourselves in the search by investigating the systems advocated by the great philosophers of the past... Where we are inquiring into the opinions of a truly eminent philosopher, it is probable that these opinions will form, in the main, a closely connected system, and that, by learning to understand them, we shall ourselves acquire knowledge of important philosophical truths.11

Russell’s observations apply to the studies that have been undertaken on the philosophy of Tung Chung-shu. Some of the works have been intentionally historical and have provided considerable analysis essential to a general understanding of Tung’s philosophy in its milieu.12 No attempt is made, however, at a connected philosophical analysis. Instead there is more of a topical approach to Tung’s thought wherein a series of specific issues are discussed but not envisioned as parts of a coherent philosophical presentation. Other studies specifically

11 Ibid., pp. xi - xii.

claim to be philosophical analyses of Tung's thought.

The most complete listing of monographs and articles on Tung Chung-shu, in both Asian and Western languages, can be found in an article by Timoteus Pokora.\textsuperscript{13} Pokora complains that although Tung is frequently quoted in both historical and philosophical studies, his philosophical texts have been translated into Western languages "only in a small part." Furthermore, he states that "I dare to say that there is no adequate study on Tung Chung-shu which would clearly define his principle ideas and their far-reaching effect."\textsuperscript{14}

To date, four studies in English together present the most complete philosophical analysis of Tung Chung-shu.\textsuperscript{15} Each of these has a similar form of presentation. They are arranged more or less by discrete topics, but the topics are not joined together by an attempt to prove or disprove philosophical coherence. Further, these studies are primarily descriptive undertakings based upon limited selections of Tung's writings and, although insightful and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{13} Timoteus Pokora, "Notes on New Studies on Tung Chung-shu," \textit{Archiv Orientalni}, 33, (1965), 256-271. To my knowledge, no comparable bibliography has been published to update this article.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 257. Pokora's remarks agree with a similar observation made by Wilhelm, "Notes on a Type of Fu," p. 402.

\end{flushright}
useful, they nevertheless have drawbacks. First, the lack of sustained argument makes it difficult to understand Tung's thought as a system -- or definitively to reject the possibility of there being a system. Second, the significance of individual philosophical topics, such as the nature of man or the rectification of names, is diminished when they cannot be integrated into a larger whole. Further, it is possible that an attempt to view Tung's thought as a systematic position can provide further depth or even amend interpretations of specific philosophical concepts.

The present study is an attempt to overcome these drawbacks through a critical exposition of Tung's political philosophy that, following Bertrand Russell's recommendation, inquires whether or not Tung has "a closely connected system."

1.1 THE METHOD OF THIS STUDY

Although I have consulted all available secondary sources, this study is based wholly upon primary sources. T.Y. Tain\(^\text{16}\) states that the primary sources for Tung's thought fall into four groups:

\[^{16}\text{Tain, Tung Chung-shu's System of Thought, pp. 6-9. I present only a brief summary of Tain's research on these various sources. Tain's historical research on the primary sources for Tung's writings is a significant contribution to Tung scholarship.}\]
(1) The Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書 (The History of the Former Han Dynasty) Chapter 56, contains three memorials written by Tung Chung-shu in response to Emperor Wu-ti's inquiries. Portions of three other memorials may be found in Ch'ien Han Shu 24a, 27a, and 94b.

(2) The Tung-tzu wen-chi 董子文集 (Tung Chung-shu's Literary Collection) is the title of the original collection of Tung's belles-lettres, which was lost. The existing very brief collection was culled from various Chinese sources and was assembled, according to Tain's study, most probably in 1515 A.D.

(3) The Kung-yang Tung Chung-shu chih-yu 公羊董仲舒治獄 (The Judgment of Judicial Cases according to the Kung-yang Principles of the Spring and Autumn Annals), was reported to include descriptions of 232 cases. Most have been lost; only eight or nine remain in various encyclopedias and collections.

(4) The Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lyu 春秋繁露 or the Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals is the most important and detailed source for Tung's philosophy. Tain mentions that there has been some controversy over the authenticity of the work, but after comparing it with the Shih Chi 史記, the Ch'ien Han Shu 前漢書, and the Lun-heng 論衡, by Wang Ch'eng 王充 (A.D. 27 to ca. 100), he states that passages from Tung quoted by these
sources are fully consistent with the text as we have it.\textsuperscript{17} The text now extant is in seventeen sections (chuan 卷) with 79 chapters. The original text of the CCFL was reported to have 123 chapters.\textsuperscript{18} The present arrangement of the overall text no doubt varies from the original, but each of the individual chapters seems relatively coherent, despite scattered lacunae in some chapters that add difficulty to the interpretation of limited passages. The complete text runs just over 300 pages in length.

Tain provides a lengthy analysis of the transmission of the CCFL text.\textsuperscript{19} The final step of transmission and scholarly revision of the text came in the Ch'ing dynasty with the publication of the Ch'u-chen 聚珍 edition of 1773.\textsuperscript{20} This edition is followed in both the Ssu-pu 四部叢刊 and the Ssu-pu pai-ya 四部備要, the standard editions used by contemporary scholars. Two important commentaries on the CCFL were

\begin{enumerate}
\item[I have compared all three sources with the Ch'ing-ch'iu fan-lyu (hereafter cited as CCFL) and I agree with Tain's conclusion. Tain also mentions, on pages 12-13, that the Sung scholars had the same text of the CCFL as survives today. He determined this by a comparison of the Tai p'ing yu-lan encyclopedia's lengthy quotes of Tung with editions now extant. See also Hsu Fu-kuan, Liang-Han ssu-hsiang shih, pp. 312-316, who concludes that although there are incomplete chapters in the CCFL, the text is genuine. I also discussed this topic with Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-djen in April 1978; they agreed that there has been no convincing argument to the contrary.
\item[For additional details see Hsiac, History, p. 48 n.]
\item[Tain, op. cit., pp. 7-15.]
\item[Ibid., p. 14.]
\end{enumerate}
written during the Ch'ing dynasty, one by Ling Shu (凌曙光), who published a punctuated edition with commentary in 1816, and one by Su Yu, who expanded upon Ling Shu's commentary.21 Tain considers Su Yu's edition superior to Ling Shu's, and I agree. Fung Yu-lan utilizes Su Yu's text and commentary in his History. There are some differences between Su Yu's edition and that of the Ssu-pu nei-yao (hereafter SPPY). Occasionally, when the notes in the SPPY edition suggest relocations of certain sentences, Su Yu actually makes them.

The references in the present study are all to the SPPY edition. In those occasional instances when Su Yu arranges the text differently, I provide the appropriate references. Because both texts follow the Chu-chen edition, there are no major variations in meaning between the two texts. The SPPY edition is a standard, accepted version of the CCFL. It is used here rather than Su Yu's edition for the additional reason that it is more readily available in libraries and bookstores with Chinese collections. Of course, any thorough study of Tung's thought in the original scripts also will consult Su Yu's commentary.

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21 Ibid., pp. 14-15. Ling Shu's punctuation is frequently suspect. Su Yu incorporates the Ling Shu commentaries in his own commentary on the CCFL.
1.2 ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE CH'ÜN CH'IU FAN LU

At the end of Pokora's "Notes on New Studies on Tung Chung-shu," he lists a number of partial translations of the CCPL into Western languages. In the case of those translations that are available, not even a fourth of the total text is rendered into English. To date no major additions have been made to that total. A complete annotated translation is badly needed. Although I have consulted all published, translated selections from the CCPL, my translations are based upon the original text. I also have been greatly aided by a rough, preliminary translation of the CCPL, still in manuscript, made by Dr. Roger T. Ames.

1.3 THE THESIS

This dissertation reconstructs and explicates the political philosophy of Tung Chung-shu as found in the Ch'ün-ch'iu fan-lu. By approaching this text through an analysis of the nature and perfection of man, I show that it yields a coherent philosophical system that explains the structure and constituent dynamics of the cosmos. Tung's system provides explanatory and regulatory paradigms for the activities of both man and society. In his thought, for man's original nature to become perfected he must first develop a highly refined sense of performance of duties

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within a hierarchically structured social-political organism. Man and society, he argues, are perfected concurrently, under the necessary guidance of a ruler whose paternalistic authoritarianism is constrained by purposive cosmological forces. These forces guarantee the conditions that permit a circumscribed measure of individual creativity. In addition, I suggest that the idea of duty in Tung's philosophy, as re-invisioned in this dissertation, provides valuable insights into Confucian thought. I demonstrate that this analysis amends certain misinterpretations of Tung's philosophy. In consequence, it provides the cosmological and political framework for more fruitful research within Tung's philosophy.

1.3.1 The Steps of the Argument

My research in political philosophy has shown that analyses of the nature of man often provide considerable insight into the thought of political philosophers. In the case of Tung Chung-shu, this starting point was especially useful because it led to a sustained progression of philosophical analysis that ended with a coherent system. There may well be other and better approaches to prove Tung's philosophy is coherent, but the analysis of the nature and perfection of man in the following chapters provides a logically satisfying exposition.
A careful analysis of the nature of man based upon Tung's cosmological theory, (Chapter II) shows that man is innately neither good nor bad, but has the potential for both. To become good he must be educated by external forces. This education necessarily takes place in a social context that is ultimately under a ruler who, as educative model and guide, provides and maintains the optimal social and political environment to ensure man's proper education. I show that previous studies have misinterpreted Tung's theory of the nature of man, and provide a new interpretation that presents an improved understanding of both man's nature and of what constitutes the perfection of that nature.

The education of man must take place in a social context. Man is born, lives, and dies in a social environment. I provide (Chapter III) a conceptual paradigm for Tung's idea of society wherein his analysis of titles and names is explained in terms of statuses and roles. By showing how Tung bases his analysis of society upon cosmological theory, I show how man fits into a complex web of statuses that define his place in society and provide the appropriate context for his education.

Tung's application of cosmological theory to the social and political realm requires a hierarchical scheme of statuses. I demonstrate (Chapter IV) that this scheme defines duties for individuals in the various statuses. I show that an analysis of the concept of ming can explain
the authority structure of society, which in turn explains how duties arise in both political and social statuses. Further, this analysis clarifies the implications of Tung's theory of the ruler's position, duties, and legitimacy.

Statuses assign duties and roles define those actions that fulfill duties. I show (Chapter V) that Tung's theories of Yin and Yang, the Five Powers, and the Four Seasons enrich his discussion of how man understands the correct performance of roles. Further, I show that through external performance of the roles defined by duties, man develops an inner sense and appreciation of those duties by internalizing standards of propriety.

Man and society need to be nurtured toward goodness and order by the ruler. I show (Chapter VI) that Tung's theories of cosmology and history provide guidance for the ruler's duties in perfecting the social and political realm. Further, I argue that these theories provide paradigms by which the ruler and ministers necessarily interact both to educate the people toward goodness and to bring order and harmony to society. The normative standards for these dynamic goals of perfected man and society are found in the Way of Heaven. The ruler and ministers, working in concert, provide the educative environment by which the Way of Heaven can be matched by the Way of man.

In conclusion (Chapter VII), I show that Tung's political philosophy presents a coherent explanation of how man is
educated toward goodness, and that the idea of duties properly performed and properly internalized enriches our understanding of what for Tung constitutes the good man. Further, I show that while Tung's philosophy argues for a stable social order governed by a monarch, it also preserves a place for individual freedom of action, allowing personal creativity through participation in the social context.
Chapter II

THE NATURE OF MAN

The history of Western political philosophy frequently demonstrates that a philosopher's view of the nature of man determines in great part how he answers central political questions such as the appropriate role of the state in education, the degree to which law is necessary, the duties and responsibilities of the political leaders, and the goals to which both the individual and the body politic should aspire.

These questions of political philosophy are addressed by Tung Chung-shu as well. His position on the nature of man affects his entire analysis of the basic goals of his system: to explain clearly and thoroughly how man and the world can be perfected. The complete process of perfection involves cognate change, growth, and transformation not only of the nature of the individual but also, correlative, of the world.

The primary source for Tung's analysis of the nature of man is Chapter 35, "Examining in Depth the Names and Titles."23 In this chapter, Tung -- like Hsün Tzu in his

23 Ch'ün-ch'iu fan-lu (hereafter CCFP; all references to SPPY ed.), Ch. 35, 10.1a-6a; see also Ch. 36, 10.6a-7b.
essay on the nature of man—argues his case specifically against Mencius. Mencius argued that man's original nature, which we would call man's innate nature, is good. Tung disagrees. His disagreement rests upon cosmological and epistemological grounds, specifically his concepts of "ch'i" and "names and titles." These concepts provide a necessary preface to his arguments dealing with the nature of man.

2.1 OVERVIEW OF THE VITAL FORCES

Tung Chung-shu's analysis of the nature of man rests squarely upon his cosmological theory. Since several scholars have examined the structure and interplay of key concepts in Tung's cosmology, the cosmological view presented below touches only upon those features specifically relevant to understanding the nature of man.

Heaven (t'ien 天), earth (ti 地), and man (jian 人) are the three major components of Tung's universe. Man is singled out from among the 10,000 things (wan-wu 萬物).

---


which include all the myriad things of the earth such as animals, insects, plants, rocks and rivers, because no alone is capable of moral activity. Earth is the general environment for man and the 10,000 things. It includes the lands, the seas, and the air that surround them.

Heaven, speaking in broad terms for the present, is a reality that actively participates in the cosmos. It is the ultimate source of life for man and the 10,000 things. Heaven also is a moral authority in that it mandates moral requirements for man's actions, and it passes judgment upon man's moral performance of his actions. Heaven is especially "concerned" with the actions of the ruler because of his unique position as both model and guide for man.

In the Ch'ung-ch'iu fan-lu there are frequent references to "Heaven's will" (t'ien-chih 天志 ) and "Heaven's intentions" (t'ien-yi 天意). Both of these combinations suggest a purposive cosmology. Although it is difficult to define precisely Tung's concept of Heaven, it is not necessary to infer from these and other personalistic sounding phrases that Heaven is anthropomorphic. This issue is highly problematic, not only in Tung's philosophy but also in Han period thought generally, but my own sense of the concept from reading Tung's essays is that Heaven is a

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27 CCFI, Ch. 5b, 13.1b: Of the things to which Heaven and earth give birth, "none is more honored than man... Things have deficiencies and cannot become benevolent or righteous. Only man is able to become benevolent and righteous."
naturalistic, purposive, non-anthropomorphic entity within the cosmos.\(^{28}\)

Heaven desires the good and the right for man and expects the ruler of man to provide and maintain the social and political environment to ensure this. Heaven is particularly concerned with the well-being of man -- the people (min 見) -- which means Heaven expects man to be educated and cultivated so that moral goodness and correctness prevails in man and in society. Heaven's mandate therefore requires the ruler to bring about moral rectitude within man and in his social relationships.

Heaven can be partially explained in terms of the natural processes it directs. Heaven gives rise to the progression of the four seasons; it dominates the natural processes found in the world, the environment of the 10,000 things. The reality of Heaven is an accepted given in Tung's philosophy, but he does provide further metaphysical grounding for Heaven, as well as for earth and man. All three are comprised of and animated\(^{29}\) by ch'i 氣.

\(^{28}\) The ambivalence of the term was pointed out to me in considerable detail during a conversation with Professor Benjamin Schwartz in May 1977. My study since then has only demonstrated further how difficult the question is to resolve. Fung Yu-lan is ambivalent about the concept, see Fung, History, Vol. II, p. 19.

\(^{29}\) "Animate" is a deliberately chosen term because it expresses the idea of giving life to, to fill with spirit, to inspire to action, and to impart motion or activity to something. The Latin root, animare, meaning to fill with breath -- from anima, breath -- also is equivalent to one of the basic meanings of ch'i.
Ch'i, commonly -- and correctly -- translated as "vital forces," is difficult to define precisely. Ch'i is an irreducible concept. It has manifestations as specific kinds of forces or in arrangements of substantial forms. But ch'i itself does not have component parts. Ch'i suffuses Heaven, earth and man, but is identifiable only in its specific manifestations. Thus, to call ch'i a "substance" is a partial misnomer, somewhat in the same way that it is a misnomer to call an atom a "substance" in contemporary physics. Actually an atom is composed of electrically charged forces which somehow has substantiality, at least in the sense of its having atomic weight. This descriptive difficulty is somewhat analogous to any description of ch'i.

Ch'i also is not a "substance" in the sense of a prime element, such as those explanatory suggestions given by various pre-Socratic philosophers, although ch'i is a concept somewhat akin to Anaximenes's aer, when understood as a sort of infinite air which permeates the entire universe. Yet even this comparison is faulty, for though ch'i can be pure or sullied, these two extremes -- unlike the case in Anaximenes -- do not follow from properties of rarity or density. Ch'i is pure only if its manifestations are in proper order and sullied if not.

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Ch'i may be understood in two ways. First, in the most general sense of the concept, it is the cosmos-pervading, undifferentiated bundle of forces that gives rise to all change. Hence, "vital forces" for the translation. Ch'i, as a compound of undifferentiated vital forces, is properly used in the singular. In this level of analysis, ch'i also is called "origin" (yuan 元) and "one" (yi 一). These terms indicate that ch'i is the one and only basis of all things in the universe.

Heaven, which is suffused with ch'i, is the concrete, ontological source of all things by means of its use of the differentiated forces of ch'i. These differentiated vital forces, like the undifferentiated ch'i, are never in a state of static equilibrium. There is always change. Change in the differentiated forces is a result of the pairing of dominant and subordinate forces in the various manifestations of ch'i.

In the second level of analysis, there are three differentiated manifestations of ch'i in the universe: there are the vital forces of Yin and Yang (陰陽); the vital forces of the Four Seasons (ssu-shih 四時), and the Five Powers (or Agents) (wu-asing 五行) -- often translated as the Five Elements.31 The three categorizations

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31 I prefer the Five "Powers" or "Agents" to "Elements" because the wu-asing are active forces, dynamic manifestations of ch'i that give rise to certain types of change. "Elements" seems too static. The five are wood (mu 木), fire (huo 火), earth (tu 土), metal (chin 金), and water (shiu 水).
of the manifestations of ch'i serve to identify discrete, specific characteristics of ch'i. They serve to explain further the nature of change and how change animates everyday activity. Thus, Yin and Yang, the Four Seasons, and the Five Powers are conceptual tools used to construct a coherent view of continuous change. There is no beginning creation of ch'i ex nihilo. It just exists and, significantly, exists dynamically. These manifestations of ch'i bring about all change in Heaven, earth, and man.

Because Heaven, earth, and man are comprised of and animated by the manifestation of ch'i, they undergo constant change. The direction of that constant change, however, is determined in considerable part by the actions of man and, particularly, the political ruler of man.

A passage from one of Tung's essays on the Five Powers summarizes the above analysis of ch'i:

The ch'i of Heaven and earth unite and become one, divides and becomes Yin and Yang, disassociates and becomes the Four Seasons, [and] arranges itself into the Five Powers.32

Thus, ch'i united and undifferentiated is one. It is present in Heaven and earth as Yin-ch'i and Yang-ch'i. Heaven's combination of Yin-ch'i and Yang-ch'i may further give rise to the manifestations of the Four Seasons, which themselves are suffused with Yin-ch'i and Yang-ch'i. The ch'i of the Four Seasons are experienced concretely in the biosphere, earth. This waxing and waning of the seasons is

32 CCFL, Ch. 58, 13.4b.
governed by Heaven. The intricacies of seasonal change are charged by the ch'i of the Five Powers, themselves governed by the Yin-ch'i and Yang-ch'i of Heaven. Because it is now clear that ch'i forms the ultimate grounding of these three differentiated forces, the phrase "the ch'i of" will hereafter be omitted for brevity. Yin-Yang, the Four Seasons, and the Five Powers when capitalized refer to these manifestations of the ch'i which are themselves particularized vital forces.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF NAMES AND TITLES

Tung's argument against Mencius concerning the correct definition for the nature of man requires a preliminary survey of Tung's analysis of names (ming 名) and titles (hao 號).

Titles are nouns and designate things (wu 物). Titles are usually general, summarizing designations. For example, black, father, and left can be titles for certain groups of things: those things that are black, those human things that are fathers, and those things that are to the left of other things. A title may refer to a single thing, such as the "ruler," or to a mass of things, such as "people." (Because man is one of the 10,000 things, he can be concretely labeled a "thing" in this analysis.) Tung

33 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.1t.
34 Ibid.
indicates further that titles usually are paired (or correlations, bo 合).\textsuperscript{35} For example, there are things that are black and white, fathers and sons, left and right. Finally, titles have a natural origin.\textsuperscript{36} That is, the Sages, who established titles for things, based their titling upon the paired (or correlative) nature of things as they are found in the world. Thus, titles designate paired noun concepts. It should be noted that none of these concepts is abstract. Right and left, for example, only have meaning when referring to things. Tung does not seem to need abstract concepts, such as "rightness" or "leftness."\textsuperscript{37}

Names are definitions of things, and are usually more specific and detailed than titles.\textsuperscript{38} Names make discriminations among similar things. Thanks to the grammar of Chinese language, words used as nouns often can be used as verbs and adjectives. Thus, a word may be repeated, appearing first as a noun and second as a verb or adjective.

\textsuperscript{35} See CCFL, Ch. 53, 12.5b: "Generally all things must have correlations."

\textsuperscript{36} CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.1a-b. See also Ch. 53, 12.5b ff.

\textsuperscript{37} Cf. Chad D. Hansen, "Mass Nouns and 'a white horse is not a horse'" Philosophy East and West 26 (April, 1976), 189-209. I agree with Hansen's argument that Chinese nouns, as analogous to English mass nouns, can be treated as "concrete but holistic" rather than as abstract words designating universals or classes of things. Although his essay specifically analyzes Kung-sun Lung and earlier Chinese philosophers, I believe his points are well taken and can assist our understanding of Tung Chung-shu's use of names and titles.

\textsuperscript{38} CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.1b.
For example, 山山 巳山 闩山 闩山 闩山 闩山 君君
臣臣 父父子子 -- an often quoted passage from

Confucius\(^\text{39}\) can be translated as (1) a ruler rules, a minister ministers, a father "fathers" (acts like a father) and a son "sons" (or acts like a son); (2) all rulers rule, all ministers minister, all fathers "father" and all sons "son"; or (3) a ruler is ruler, a minister is minister, a father is father, and a son is son (when titles and names agree). In this quotation, the first term is a "title" and the second is a "name." One implication of "name" is that there is a correct definition of things. In the example dealing with fathers, it is possible that one who is a "father" is not actually "acting like a father." If so, according to Tung (and to Confucian tradition) the "father" is in fact just a man, not a father, because his actions do not square with the name (definition).

One general goal of the traditional Confucian theory of the rectification of names (正名) is to bring about an identity of names and performance. If the two agree, then names correctly define their referents. Names as definitions provide rules for human performance, in the instance just cited, or give rules for actual employment of terms. An example of the latter would be "sacrifices." "Sacrifice" is a general title for all sacrifices; the "names" 夷, 野, 春, and 仲,}

\(^{39}\text{Analects, XII.11; Legge, Analects, Vol. I, p. 256.}\)
however, are specific, actual sacrifices performed in spring, summer, autumn, and winter in prescribed ways. Titles provide a general (genus) classification scheme and names give a specific (species) definitional scheme for the things of the world. The correct application of both names and titles is found in the activities of the Sages recorded in the ancient Confucian texts. More will be said of names and titles in subsequent chapters.

2.3 THE NATURE OF MAN ARGUMENT

Tung's argument against Mencius in Chapter 35 of the CCEL is that Mencius has the "name" for man's "original nature" defined incorrectly on both cosmological and epistemological grounds. The term for "human nature" is hsing 哲. When spoken of as "original human nature" -- modern terminology would be "innate nature" -- Tung states that it is unformed substance (chih 基). This original nature is the raw substance that becomes refined character. The original nature is malleable, is transformable. Tung argues against Mencius that it is only after educational transformation that the original nature (chih) becomes good (shan 善). The original substance has potentiality for becoming either good and bad, but it is not innately good, as Mencius holds or innately bad, as Hsün Tzu argues.

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*0 CCEL, Ch. 35, 10.1b.
Tung uses four analogies to introduce his theory of human nature. His arguments seek to demonstrate that he, rather than Mencius, has properly correlated the name "original nature" with its reality. His analysis correctly explains, thus rectifies, the name "original nature."

Tung's analogies require close scrutiny for two reasons. First, it is through his theory of the nature of man that we can make sense of his moral and political philosophy and can see the framework for the answers to the sorts of questions posed at the opening of this chapter. Second, I believe that Tung's theory has been misunderstood by his commentators from the Later Han Dynasty up to the present. This may seem an audacious assertion, but I have sought to present here a detailed demonstration of where previous analyses of Tung's position need amendment. I believe this revised interpretation makes Tung's philosophy more internally coherent and more in line with our commonsense notion of man's character development.

We have already noted that man, as part of the universe, is composed of the ch'i of Yin and Yang. This means that man's body (sang) is composed of both vital forces. The part of man's body that governs its activities is the mind (hsing). The mind is the ruler of man's ch'i. Thus Heaven and man both are composed of positive and negative vital forces. Man is distinguished from the animals because

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* Cf. CCFL, Ch. 77, 16.10b: "In general, the vital forces follow the mind. The mind is the ruler of vital forces."
of his mind. This mind can give rise to the whole range of good and bad activity. Since Heaven can manifest Yin and Yang, so can the nature of man. The extremes of man's expressions of Yin and Yang are selfishness, t' an 食, and benevolence, jen 仁. Of these, more later. What is significant at this point is that man's nature can express itself in emotions and desires, ch' ing 情 and yu 欲. How and when these are expressed depend upon the mind. To be precise, their expression is restrained by the mind.

Heaven has restrictions over Yin and Yang; the body has restraints over emotions and desires.*2

The body, ruled by the mind, can restrain emotions -- such as love, hate, joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure -- and desires -- such as hunger and sex. Note that restraint here does not mean elimination; it means discipline. We will see that all these emotions and desires have their place in man's developed character. It is necessary for the mind to exercise restraints upon these at the proper times, but "if the Heavenly nature [that is, man's original nature from Heaven] does not avail itself of education, then in the final analysis it will be unable to restrain them."*3 These

*2 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.31. There is a pairing of the terms "restriction" chia 茅 and "restraint" jen 業 here that is repeated elsewhere in the CCFL. Fung, History, Vol. 1, p. 35, translates jen as "confines," which is nearly synonymous with my rendering, though not as alliteratively parallel in English. Chan, Source Book, p. 274, translates jen as "weak," which misses the point and perhaps contributes to his misinterpretation of emotions. This is discussed in connection with Tung's second example below.
comments, which foreshadow Tung's concern with personal and social discipline, immediately precede the four analogies in Chapter 35 with which Tung illustrates his theory of the nature of man.

2.3.1 The Rice Analogy

Restraint of emotions and desires comes from a mind disciplined by education. But what is man's original nature prior to education? Tung compares the original nature to the raw grain of rice, while that nature which is educated to goodness is like hulled rice.

Nature (hsing) can be compared to the raw rice grain; goodness (shan) can be compared to the hulled rice. The hulled rice comes from the raw grain, but cannot be considered to be hulled rice. [Man's] goodness comes from [his] nature, but nature cannot be considered wholly good.**

Goodness is a potential refinement of man, as hulled rice is a potential refinement of the raw grain of rice. Man's potential for goodness is inherited from Heaven, but its actual development is within the province of man. Man's goodness is completed (ch'eng 成) beyond Heaven's sphere.**

This statement is amplified in Chapter 36, "Reality and Nature:"

Hulled rice and goodness are those [potentialities] that man takes from Heaven and completes beyond its sphere -- they are not within

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*3 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.3b.
** CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.4a.
*5 Ibid.
that which Heaven does. That which Heaven does has its boundaries at which it stops. Inside this boundary is called Heaven, while outside this boundary is called education by the true king. This education by the true king is external to nature (hsing), and nature cannot but seek to comply with it. Therefore, I say that nature has the substance of good (shan-chih), but cannot become good of itself."

This is an indication that the sphere of the ruler's activity includes education of the people to goodness, and that this goodness does not come from unguided natural development. "Some say that nature is already good and do not expect goodness to arise from education but to come naturally (tzu-jen 自然), but this does not agree with the way of government (chahng-tao 正道)." Tung asks "if the original nature is without education, how can it suddenly become good?" It cannot, because goodness is the result of influences beyond the sphere of what Heaven bestows on man. Man -- with the ruler -- must work to become good. "If the natures of the people were all [naturally] able to attain goodness, then why are good men not seen?" Mencius considers that the natures of the people can naturally attain goodness, "but this is a mistake;" Confucius (and Tung) believes goodness difficult to achieve.  

\*\* CCFL, Ch. 36, 10.6b.  
\*\*\* Ibid., Ch. 36, 10.6a.  
\*\* Ibid.  
\*\*\* Ibid., Ch. 36, 10.6b-7a.
Early in my study of this passage, I was inclined to equate the potential goodness in man's nature with the forces of Yang that compose part of it, while simultaneously equating the Yin in man's nature with potential badness. Without anticipating the following analysis too much, it seems clear to me now that equating good with Yang and bad with Yin is erroneous. The education, thus refinement, of man's character is a refinement of ch'i. Therefore, not just Yang, but both Yin and Yang are refined and completed by educational transformation.

It is highly significant that man's nature is completed, that is, perfected, within the affairs of man and is not determined by Heaven. As Tung carefully points out,

That which Heaven does has a point at which it ceases. Up to this point is called the Heavenly nature [the innate substance of man's nature]; beyond this point is called [human] affairs (shih)50.

The realm of human affairs is the environment of personal discipline and social integration based upon the education of man. It is primarily51 through the efforts of men that any individual can be transformed and refined to goodness.

Thus, Heaven does not determine man's goodness -- or badness. Heaven only provides the potential for either one or the other. Man must provide the means for his own

50 Ibid.

51 This will be qualified later in reference to the portents and abnormalities, and the Mandate of Heaven, which are instances of Heaven's direct involvement in the affairs (Shih) of man.
perfection. As we shall see, this would be impossible to achieve were it not for Sages, rulers, and learned scholar-ministers.

2.3.2 The Vision Analogy

The second example Tung uses to explain the nature of man employs an analogy between vision and nature (hsing 性). This is one of the few passages in the CCPL that has been translated by the several main discussants of Tung's philosophy. It is also of considerable interest to the present study because the previous interpretations given to parts of this selection seriously confuse Tung's analysis of man.

Fung Yu-lan states that Tung Chung-shu's "Human psychology embraces two aspects: that of human nature (hsing 性) and that of his feelings or emotions (ching 情). These are equated by Tung Chung-shu with the yang and yin respectively...." Fung then quotes from CCPL 10.4b to support this statement:

The [human] body has within it the nature (hsing) and the feelings (ch'ing, just as Heaven has the yin and the yang. To speak of man's "basic stuff" and exclude from this his feelings, is like speaking of Heaven's yang while excluding the

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52 CCPL, Ch. 35, 10.4a-b. In Su Yü, CCPLYC, see 10.11a (with commentary).


54 Fung's footnote (p. 33) reads, "The 'basic stuff' (Chih 質) is another term used by Tung Chung-shu to designate man's original nature in its totality."
In a note to this passage, Fung adds that when Tung "speaks of the 'nature' (hsing), he sometimes seems to conceive of it in a broader sense and sometimes in a narrower sense." The "broader sense" Fung explains is the nature with which man is "endowed at birth" and "it follows that the feelings are simply a particular element in this nature."56 Fung then asserts that "nature" can be construed in a "narrower sense" where "the nature stands distinct from and in opposition to the feelings it constitutes the yang part of man's 'basic stuff' whereas the feelings constitute that part which is yin."57

Wing-tsit Chan, in a comment on the same passage quoted above, asserts that "nature as an equivalent to yang is good, whereas feelings as the equivalent to yin are evil."58

T. Y. Tain, quoting from Chan's translation of this same passage, concurs with the bracketed textual comment Chan makes in the body of his translation: "If we say that nature is already good, what can we say about feelings [which are sources of evil]?"59

55 Ibid., pp. 32-33.
56 Ibid., p. 33.
57 Ibid., emphasis added.
58 Chan, Source Book, p. 276.
59 Tain, Tung Ch'ang-sao's System of Thought, p. 136, emphasis added.
All three scholars have misinterpreted this passage. This can be demonstrated in two ways: (1) An analysis of the context of this passage shows that in no way are the emotions of man solely equated with Yin (or with evil), nor is man's nature solely equated with Yang. Furthermore, nature is not opposed to emotions. To the contrary, both nature and emotions are composed of Yin and Yang, and the emotions are part of nature. (2) An investigation of the specific arguments in Chapter 35 (and in the CCFL generally) indicates that any view equating nature only with Yang and emotions only with Yin completely contradicts Tung's view of man.

Because a correct view of the nature of man is essential to understanding Tung's philosophical goals of perfecting man and the state, the interpretation presented by these scholars must be amended.

CCFL 10.4b occurs near the end of the vision analogy, which begins at 10.4a. To understand the brief passage Tung singles out for comment, we must first examine its context.

The discussion opens with the statement that the title (hao 貌) of "people," that is, the term min 人, is taken from the word for "closed-eyes" (ming 明). Thus, "If the nature has already attained goodness, they why does it use [the word] 'closed-eyes' as its title?" Burton Watson comments in a footnote on this opening sentence that "Tung

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60 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.4a.
is using a favorite Chinese type of argument, that based upon the supposed affinities between characters of similar pronunciation. Such 'puns,' as we should call them, are intended to be taken in all seriousness.\textsuperscript{61} A different analysis of this might suggest that Tung is interested not in puns, but in asserting that names and titles have their origins in natural realities not in convention.

At this point we should seek to determine what Tung's analogy says of human nature. This analogy states:

Nature has that which is similar to the eyes. When one lies down in a dark place and closes one's eyes, one must wait until awakening before one can see. At the time when one has still not awakened, it can be said that one has the basic substance (chih) of vision, but it cannot be said that one sees.

Now, the nature of the myriad people has its basic substance, but it still is not able to be awakened to [i.e., conscious of] it. This is just like those who have their eyes closed awaiting awakedness. [But] educate them and then they will be good. When one is still not conscious, one is said to have the basic substance of good but cannot be called good. This is like the eyes being closed and then awakening. If one settles one's mind and carefully examines this, its meaning can be seen.\textsuperscript{62}

The analogy is already quite clear. The possibility of goodness is present in the individual, but one must be awakened to it. Education brings about the awakening process. Tung continues by saying that "The nature's being like closed-eyes and not yet conscious is that which is

\textsuperscript{61} DeBary, \textit{et al.}, \textit{Sources}, p. 166.

\textsuperscript{62} CCFL, 10.4a-b.
caused by Heaven." This means that the nature of man received from Heaven has the potentiality for good, but that potentiality has yet to be realized. Thus, following what has been caused by Heaven — which is to be born with the potentiality for good yet still being unconscious of that potentiality — people are given the name "min" 民. "Min" means "people" yet also indicates that the natures of people are originally like "ming" 明, which means "not yet awakened."

That which is called min [people] was originally similar to min [closed-eyes]. By following its name and title to penetrate its principle, then its [true meaning] can be attained [that is, the true meaning of "people"]. This is rectifying name and title [cheng-ming-hao 正名號] with Heaven and earth.

The distinction Tung makes here is between unformed nature (potential) and formed, or perfected, nature (actual). This also implies that individuals must become aware or conscious of the good potentiality within them. We shall see in the concluding section of this analogy that Tung asserts there are various degrees of possibility for man's actual attainment of perfect goodness. There are some men who never can be expected to become good, who can never realize their potential.

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63 Ibid., 10.4b.
64 Ibid.
The next passage, which immediately precedes the one quoted by Fung, is of considerable importance to this analysis.

That which heaven and earth give birth to are called nature and emotions. Nature and emotions combine to form one (hsing-ch'ing-hsiaq-yu-wei-yi 性情與為一) Unawakened emotions are also [part of] nature (ming-ch'ing-yi-hsiaq-yeh 緣情赤性也). 65

This passage indicates that the nature and emotions combine to form one entity within man's self or body (shen 身).

The next sentence concludes that thought: "If one says that nature is already good, then what about the emotions?" 66

This rhetorical question simply means that since nature and emotions are both unawakened and one within man, how can anyone then say that the nature is already good without saying the same about emotions? Of course, Tung argues throughout Chapter 35, and specifically within these examples, that man is not already inherently good, but must be made so through external forces, the forces of education. Tung continues, "Thus none of the Sages called nature good, for that would harm its name [i.e., its "definition"] (ming 名)." 67 Thus, the point of Tung's argument is that if the definition of nature is given an improper meaning, it necessarily leads to a mistaken view of man. This is precisely the topic Tung seeks to clarify in this chapter.

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
This is the prefatory context to the passage quoted above from Fung's _History_. The next two sentences are retranslated with little deviation from that presented in Fung's analysis.

The body [shen 神] itself having nature and emotions is like Heaven itself having _yin_ and _yang_. Speaking of a man's basic substance without his emotions is like speaking of Heaven's _yang_ without its _yin_.

This asserts that just as Heaven is composed of both _yin_ and _yang_, so man's body or self has both nature and emotions. But nature and emotions having "combined to form one," are not opposed to each other, and neither is one nor the other identified with _yin_ or _yang_.

This has additional appeal to common sense. For example, if emotions were in fact _yin_, as these commentators have asserted, then how would one account for the emotions of love and joy? Are these negative? Are these evil? Because the emotions are part of the nature of man, and the nature of man has the _chi_ of both _yin_ and _yang_, so the emotions must be characterized by _yin_ and _yang_. This is in fact the case as the later parts of Chapter 35 clearly demonstrate.

The isolated passage Fung quotes, therefore, actually means only that the basic substance of man -- his unrefined character -- necessarily _includes_ his emotions (even a baby has emotions, after all). These commentators have made the

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**Note:** It is not clear where the note should be placed in the text.
error of drawing equivalences from this passage rather than seeing it as illustrative of a part-whole relationship. To ignore man's emotions as part of the basic substance of nature would be like speaking of Heaven only in terms of Yang and not Yin, for the latter is also part of the whole. To assert that nature in any sense is only Yang (with no Yin) and emotions are Yin (with no Yang) is contradictory to what Tung argues throughout this chapter.

Misinterpretations can lead to further difficulties. This arises in Fung's analysis when he attempts to argue that Tung is actually using the word "nature" in two senses. Fung's definition of "nature in the broad sense," is accurate. He states that "the nature constitutes the 'basic stuff' with which man is endowed at birth" and thus "it follows that the feelings are simply a particular element in this nature." What Fung fails to recognize, however, is that this is the only legitimate interpretation for nature in this chapter. His definition of "nature in the narrow sense" is not founded upon an analysis of the CCFI — at least he does not offer any quotations to substantiate this. Instead, he refers to the Shuc-wen and Lun-beng for support. The latter states, according to Fung, that "[Tung] Chung-shu, having scanned [sic] the writings of Mencius and Hsun Tzu, formulated a theory of the feelings and the nature in which he said: ... The nature is produced from the Yang

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and the feelings from the yin..." This is tenuous evidence at best and insufficient against the weight of Tung's comments to the contrary throughout the passages preceding the 10.4a selection. Thus, Fung's interpretation is unclear, and one only has to read pages 33 through 35 of his exposition to determine that his frequent distinction between "nature in the narrow sense" and "nature in the broad sense" are very confusing. There is a far simpler, and more accurate, way to explain Tung's concept of nature.

"Nature" is equivalent to man's unformed "character," which has the potential for becoming good or bad. This nature can manifest both positive and negative ch'i through the emotions. For example, the yin emotion of anger can be manifested from one's character, as can the yang emotion of love. In either instance, however, the emotion may be manifested correctly or incorrectly. If anger, for example, is directed at an errant son who has taken property belonging to another, then the emotion of anger from his father is correctly expressed. If the son is innocent of misconduct, however, then the anger is incorrect. Similar examples can be constructed for the other emotions, positive or negative. Significantly, emotions are both yin and yang -- it is their application at the correct time and correct

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70 Ibiq. See Wang Ch'ung (王充), 論衡 (Lun-heng), SPPY ed., Ch. 13, 義性 (Ii-sheng) 3.14b. The word lau (覽) which Fung translates as "scanned" might less pejoratively be rendered as "inspected" or "read." I believe Wang Ch'ung also missed Tung's point by quoting only an isolated passage from the CCPI.
place that requires education. In no case is any emotion to be eliminated. Emotions are to be disciplined. Controlled emotions manifested from the nature of man demonstrate that the character is refined. Yin emotions are not abolished, but they are subordinated to the Yang emotions; they assist the Yang emotions in completing or perfecting the character.

This interpretation is consistent with Tung's arguments in the remaining portions of Chapter 35 and, further, agrees with his analysis of how the ruler controls his Yin and Yang emotions in the political context of ruling the state. The vision analogy concludes with the statement "What I call [human] nature does not refer to the highest type or the lowest type, but is that of the average [man]." This cryptic statement is amplified in a passage in Chapter 36:

The nature of the Sages cannot be named "nature," and the nature of those with limited capacities [lit. tou-shao-chih-hsing] cannot be named "nature." That which [properly] is named nature is the nature of average people. 71

This general classification of man into three categories—upper, middle, and lower (shang-chung-hsia) —has important implications. The vast majority of the people fall into the middle grouping, but the two categories for people above and below this major grouping allow Tung's philosophy to answer two pertinent questions.

71 Ibid., Ch. 36, 10.7a.
First, how could the early noble kings and Sages attain goodness without the benefit of education? Tung has argued that man's nature is not naturally good, yet with this categorization of men he can make room for the early Kings and Sages. The Sage is an exception -- and a rare one -- but necessary for the whole process of man's perfection. For it was the Sages who gave things their names, who provided standards for judgment about the actions of man. The noble kings of antiquity were also exceptions from the average. As such, their actions can serve as models for the present. Though contemporary times are different from those in history, the principles for ruling are constant. Thus, the early kings and Sages, whose actions are found in historical records, are sources for those principles by which contemporary rulers should act. Both the kings and Sages of antiquity realized goodness without external education. They were able to educate themselves. They had exceptional natures and, therefore, are not named "nature" like the masses of average people.

Second, there is a lower grouping of people -- and by implication, also a limited exception to the average. The term Tung uses to describe this group -- tou-shao-chih-jen 斗筲之人 -- literally means "pecks" and "taskets," that is, tools used for measuring and washing rice. Stylistically this is an interesting choice. Tung's first analogy uses rice as an analogy for the development of man's
nature from raw substance to refined character. The "pecks" and "taskets" are utensils that serve to measure and clean rice, but they themselves cannot change. This seems to be Tung's view of the lowest grouping. There exists a small percentage of society that has a nature incapable of perfection. This makes room for those congenital idiots and intransigent criminals who may be found in any society. No moral pressure, no moral model will have any effect on these; they require to be forcibly guided or starkly coerced before they can fit into the human relationships. Because this group also has different sorts of natures, they are not named "nature" like the masses of average people.

Confucius used the "pecks" and "taskets" phrase (in Analects XIII, 20) to ridicule his contemporary governmental administrators. He considered them unworthy to be taken into account. They too were like unthinking tools. Tung likewise believes this lower group unworthy of consideration. These people are unable to "awaken" their natures to goodness.

2.3.3 The Cocoon and Egg Analogies

Two final analogies complete Tung's presentation of his theory of man's nature. While the vision analogy asserted the malleability of man through external education, these final analogies introduce the source of that assistance.

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Tung states that

The nature is like a cocoon and like an egg. An egg has to wait to hatch before it becomes a chick [and in the process be incubated by the body heat of the hen]. A cocoon has to wait for the strands to be unwound before it can be woven into silk. [Man's] nature has to wait to be educated before it can become good. This is called the reality of Heaven. The nature of the people to whom Heaven gives birth has the substance of good (chih-shan), but it is still unable to attain goodness. In order to cause it [goodness], [Heaven] established the true king to make it good. This is the intention of Heaven. The people receive from Heaven a nature which is still unable [of itself] to attain goodness, and on a lower level from the true King they receive the education which completes (ch'eng) their nature.\(^\text{73}\)

These analogies once again stress the need for education -- the education from a king. Because man cannot be perfected on his own, Heaven established a king. Heaven's province is to give man his original nature; the king's province is to educate man's original nature to goodness.

Tung uses these four analogies to explain the nature of man. When they are combined with his cosmological and epistemological positions, his precise argument against Mencius becomes clear.

\(^{73}\text{Ibid. 10.4b-5a.}\)
2.4 AGAINST MENCJUS

Tung directly attacks Mencius' theory of the nature of man toward the end of Chapter 35:

Some say that [man's] nature has the beginnings of goodness and the mind has the substance of goodness; so how can it be said that it is not good? I reply that it is not! The cocoon has silk, but the cocoon is not silk. The egg has a fledgling but the egg is not the fledgling. ... if some say that nature is good and some say that nature is not good, then what each call 'goodness' has a different definition.74

Here Tung has laid the groundwork for his criticism. As is to be expected from the early part of the chapter, the rectification of the name "good" will be essential to his argument.

Nature has the beginnings of goodness and is employed in love for the father and mother. If goodness is better than that of the birds and beasts then it can be called goodness. This is Mencius' theory.75

Tung is referring here to Mencius' position as found in Mencius 6a.6. Mencius said,

From the feelings proper to it [the nature], it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that [the nature] is good. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers.76

The key passage by Mencius states:

The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration

74 CCEL, Ch. 35, 10.5a-b.
75 Ibid. 10.5b.
Tung disagrees with Mencius on two points. First, Mencius states that the various feelings natural to man demonstrate that man’s character is inclined to the good. If men do what is bad, according to Mencius the blame cannot be placed on man’s nature. In contrast, Tung states that man can be either good or bad, because man has the potentiality for both in his nature. Man becomes good or bad as a result of what is infused from without in his education. This last phrase indicates a second disagreement Tung has with Mencius’ theory. Tung states that benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge all have their source in appropriate education by the ruler. Furthermore, these virtues are not easy to achieve. Goodness cannot just arise of itself from human nature; it comes with effort.

The excellence of the Sages is the model for the name of goodness. If one interprets the name “goodness” with reference to its correct (chert) content or definition, the referent to insure the term’s correctness is the truly “good man,” the Sage. He adheres to the proper human relationships, complies with all the virtues, and is

77 Legge, Vol. II, 402-403; emphasis added.
generous, loving and fond of ceremonies. Therefore, he is "good" in the true sense of the term.

Confucius said: 'The good man—this I have never seen! If I could see a man who is constant, I would be satisfied!' Looking at it from this point of view, that which the Sages call goodness is not easy to achieve."

Tung reinforces his argument against Mencius by pressing what is used as the referent for goodness. He states that if man's nature is compared to birds and beasts, as Mencius does, then one can logically say man's nature is good. But this is the wrong comparison. In the rectification of the name "good," the name "good" must be compared with the proper "definition," which is the attainment of "good" illustrated by the Sage. As Tung puts it, "Goodness' being better than that of the birds and beasts and yet not regarding it as 'goodness' is like one's knowledge being higher than that of the grasses and trees and yet not giving it the name of "knowledge.""

Thus, Tung argues that it is difficult to achieve goodness and man's uneducated nature cannot of itself reach this end.

If one compares [man's] substance (chih 静) with the nature of the birds and beasts, then the nature of the people is good. If one compares [man's] substance with the Way (tao 道) of man [meaning the correct Way] the nature of the people

78 Ibid., Ch. 35, 10.5b. "Constant" (ch'ang 長) here refers to the Sage's unfaltering adherence to proper standards of correct action.

79 Ibid.
does not reach this level.80

The conclusion of Tung's disagreement with Mencius is stated directly:

In examining this, my [definition] of nature is different from Mencius. Mencius examines it from the bottom and compares it with the behavior of the birds and beasts, and therefore he says that nature is already good. I [Tung], in examining it from above compare it with that which the Sages regard as goodness, and therefore I say that nature is not good.81

For Tung the "nature of man" (hsing) is another way of referring to "the character of man," and the terms can be used interchangeably. Man's "original substance," (chih) his unformed character, is neither good nor bad, but it has the potential for both. It is composed of Yin and Yang, but at this point neither manifestation of ch'i carries moral value. Man's nature also has emotions (ch'ing). These, as part of man's nature also are composed of Yin and Yang. The mind (hsin) governs the manifestations of ch'i expressed, for example, in man's emotions. Education molds the mind and the expression of ch'i in man's emotions. Man has both Yin and Yang emotions, and the extent of his character refinement determines how and when these emotions are expressed. Correct emotions flow from a good character.

Thus, the original nature (chih) and the refined (wen) nature both are composed of Yin and Yang, just as both babies and adults have both positive and negative emotions.

80 Ibid. 10.6a.

81 Ibid.
But what changes when man's nature is educated, is the regulation and appropriateness of his *ch'i* as manifested in thoughts and acts. Man's mind, including will (*chih*) and intentions (*yi*), and actions, including emotions and desires (*yu*) can be transformed towards goodness if and only if he is educated by outside forces.

Tung argues that man's transformation from raw, original nature toward refined, good character takes place within a social context. We will now turn to an analysis of the social arrangement that Tung believes is necessary for the perfection of man.
Chapter III

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

Man becomes good or bad as a result of external education. We have seen how Tung counters Mencius' argument that "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without." Tung argues that the virtues must be forged from the raw substance of man's nature and polished to perfection by external guidance. Thus, the appropriate education by the ruler is a process of human socialization. Tung's essays demonstrate that he is seriously concerned with both the structure and dynamic content of man's education — that is, socialization — to goodness. In this chapter I suggest a paradigm for interpreting Tung's structure of society, and then focus specifically upon the implications of that structure in educating man from potential to actual goodness.83

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82 Mencius 6.6. See Legge, Mencius, Vol. II, pp. 402-403. The term Legge translates as "infused" is shen, which means to forge metal or to polish.

83 Cf. Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, Han Social Structure (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), provides an impressive analysis of Han society, focusing on kinship, marriage, the position of women, social classes, and powerful families based upon Han documents. I think Tung's philosophical analyses of man, society, and the cosmos complements Ch'ü's study by giving an ontological explanation for how society coheres and changes. See also Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, "Chinese Class Structure and its Ideology," in Chinese Thought and Institutions, ed. by
Man is born, lives, and dies in a social environment. Man's whole life falls into patterns of social relationships that form a hierarchical scheme. The term "hierarchy" here implies an interrelated organization of persons and things arranged by position, in an ascending series of levels, each with differing degrees of authority. Working from this idea of hierarchy, it is possible to construct a coherent view of Tung Chung-shu's view of society. His social scheme ties the relationships of man together with the cosmos, which also is characterized by a hierarchical arrangement of Heaven, earth, and man.

There is no abstract term for "society" as such in Tung's terminology. But two terms -- names and titles (ming, hao 名號) -- appear to be particularly useful to a philosophical analysis of the concrete components of man's social arrangements. Names and titles serve to collectively organize man in a web of human relationships (ren-lun 人倫) which extend to include Heaven. Man has family relationships and the broader relationships of clan and friendship. He also has a political relationship with the ruler. Man, as part of the hierarchical structure of the universe, also has a relationship with Heaven. Relationships, therefore, define familial, social, political, and cosmological linkages.

Man's position in any relationship has a title (hao) which indicates his position vis-a-vis others. This title has a name (ming) which defines the requirements of the position title. This name includes the definitive norms for man's actions; that is, names prescribe those actions proper to man's position (wei 位) in the social scheme of things.

3.1 A PARADIGM FOR SOCIETY

It appears from the essays in the CCPL that the names and titles when used in connection with human relationships, are essential organizing principles of society. This hypothesis can be tested by using a social science paradigm introduced in a landmark book, The Study of Man, by Ralph Linton. His discussion of role and status provides a model by which the concrete, functional meaning of name and title can be understood.

Linton states that for societies to function there must be reciprocal behavior between both various individuals and groups of individuals. The polar positions in the patterns of reciprocal behavior can be called statuses. A status is a position in a particular pattern of relationships. Any one individual has many statuses because he is in numerous

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relationship patterns. Thus, unless the term status is qualified to refer to any particular status, the "status" of any individual means the sum total of the statuses he occupies. This collective interpretation of status represents an individual's position in respect to his relations with the whole society.

A role, on the other hand, represents the dynamic content of a given status. An individual is socially assigned to various statuses, and each of these assigns him to a place in relation to other statuses. When an individual performs the actions appropriate to his statuses, he is fulfilling his roles. Thus, the real distinction between role and status is but an academic one; in practice they are quite inseparable. There are no roles apart from statuses and no statuses apart from roles. Just as with status, "role" can refer either to action required by a single role pattern or it can indicate the sum of an individual's roles and, therefore, what he is expected to do in society and what he can expect in return from society.85

85 Linton, Study, pp. 113-114. I have intentionally omitted Linton's statement that "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." (p. 113) At this point status as an assignent of place in various social arrangements is sufficient for this discussion. A discussion of whether or not Tung's concept of title (status) carries connotations of rights and (or) duties must be deferred for the present. I do not want to beg the question by making this part of the definition of titles.
This is a helpful guide to understanding the distinction Tung makes between titles and names. We can equate Tung's "titles" and "names" with Linton's "statuses" and "roles." Using these as explanatory concepts allows the following analysis.

3.2 TITLE AS STATUS

Linton's description of role and status indicates that the two are inseparable, though they have several different explanatory functions. Tung's use of titles appears to agree with Linton's analysis of status. For Tung, titles are more general than names.** Titles do not provide the specific definitions of man's expected activity or the specific norms for his actions. But titles are essential. They define locational relationships, that is, one's position relative to others. Thus they designate the status (and statuses) that precisely places the individual in the whole social context. Titles ensure that in any given group of people, in any complex web of relationships, an individual will "know his place."

By knowing his place, an individual knows the role appropriate to his position in the social situation of which he is a part. Take a typical extended family relationship as an example. When a young man at home moves from room to room among relatives, he will encounter a complex array of

**CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.1 a.
distinctive demands on his etiquette. Three different relatives may require very different kinds of action from him. How does he know what to do? Part of the answer lies in ascertaining titles. Chinese kinship terms are very precise, unlike modern Western kinship terminology. When an American may refer to a certain relative as "cousin," the Chinese can use a specific title that designates this particular cousin as "the second son of his mother's older brother." And another "cousin" to the Westerner may be the "youngest daughter of his father's younger sister." These distinctive and detailed titles for kinship relations have deep roots in Chinese history -- extending far earlier than the Han period under discussion. Different actions, beyond terms of address, would be required of the youth when he came in contact with these two "cousins." Furthermore, considerably different etiquette would be expected from the youth if, for example, the third relative were his maternal grandmother. In brief, "knowing one's place" is a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for performing correct roles. The sufficient conditions involve knowledge of roles, and the ability to perform the dynamic, virtuous content of roles in concrete activity. Chapter V discusses "name" as role in Tung's philosophy. First, more must be said of status.

We have seen that Linton defines statuses as the polar positions in patterns of reciprocal behavior.
applied to an analysis of Tung's description of "correlative" entities. Chapter 53 of the CCFL has the clearest statement of correlative relationships, that is, the polar positions in reciprocal status behavior. The term "correlatives" here means complementary, reciprocally related entities that have both structural and functional correspondence. Tung states

In general things must have correlates (yu-hs 雍 含). Correlates must have that above and must have that below; must have that on the left and must have that on the right; must have that in front and must have that behind; must have that outside and must have that inside. If there is beauty, there must be ugliness; if there is conformity, there must be deviation; if there is joy, there must be anger; if there is coolness, there must be warmth; if there is daytime, there must be night. These are all their correlates. 87

Each of these pairs designate general categories of polar opposites that are related. Each category is summary of particular things (wu 物) that can be above or below, beautiful or ugly, joyful or angry.

Because man is one of the 10,000 things (wan-wu), he also has his correlate entities,

Yin is the correlate of Yang, the wife is the correlate of the husband, the son is the correlate of the father, the minister is the correlate of the ruler. 88

Now we must go beyond Linton's definition, for Tung discusses these polar pairings of statuses in greater detail. Chapter 53 continues,

87 CCFL, Ch. 53, 12.5t.
88 Ibid.
Nothing is without its correlate, and each correlate has its Yin and Yang. Yang unites with the Yin (Yang-chien-yu-Yin 阳兼於陰) and Yin unites with the Yang. The husband unites with the wife and the wife unites with the husband; the father unites with the son and the son unites with the father, the ruler unites with the minister and the minister unites with the ruler. 89

All of these human pairings, or correlatives, are in accord with the Yin and Yang. This "uniting" has two meanings here.

First, like the cosmological forces of Yin and Yang which work together to bring about change in the universe, so too must the human correlatives work together, must unite in their reciprocal behavior. Tung gives a cosmological foundation for the necessity for correlative interactions. He continues, in Chapter 53, to say that the Way of Yin cannot be independent. Yin cannot of itself arise in the activity of the cosmos. In like manner, the wife, the son, or the minister cannot act apart from their correlate entities. 90 This indicates that reciprocal behavior is an essential part of human relationships. The polar entities must interact, must be social in a structured way.

89 CCFL, Ch. 53, 12.5b-6a. The term chien is difficult to translate precisely here. It could also be translated as "connects," but I have used "unites" to illustrate the dynamic aspect of the pairing of terms. Yin and Yang are active terms — they are animated by ch'i. They unify or connect in one active interplay of forces. The correlative entities, though conceptually static, need to be thought of in a dynamic sense. They are terms which can be actively applied to things (wu).

90 Ibid., 12.6a.
In the second meaning of "uniting" correlatives, Tung is clear that this structured reciprocity is between **unequals** in status. The ruler, father, and husband statuses are like **Yang**, while the minister, son, and wife statuses are like **Yin**. This means that the minister, son, and wife join their accomplishments (**kung** 功) to those of the ruler, father, and husband. The former are subordinate to the latter; the reciprocity of behavior between polar pairs of statuses is between superior (**shang** 上) and subordinate (**hsia** 下).

"There is one that is elevated and put above, and one that is subordinated and put below." 91

The idea of **hsia** as subordinate entails several things. First, the subordinate is supplementary to the superior, which means that his activity serves a broader purpose than simple individual achievement. Second, the subordinate is in a supporting position, which means that he has certain tasks delegated to and expected of him. Third, the subordinate is necessarily attached to the superior in the sense that all action within the defined relationship is in concert with the expectations and guidance of the superior. This structure of paired human relationships is based upon the cosmological grounds of the actions of **Yin** and **Yang**. Therefore, it is the natural way of all things to have activity necessarily between unequals. This implies that there are different expectations of the polar statuses.
Inequality of status suggests variable content of roles. What Tung is careful to point out, however, is the necessary participation of both superior and subordinate in the activity of social life. The rest of Chapter 53 makes reference to analogies from nature to illustrate this point. All the examples emphasize the dominance, the greater importance of Yang.

3.3 YIN-YANG AND THE HIERARCHY OF STATUSES

The cosmological superiority of Yang over Yin is matched by Heaven’s position above earth and the ruler’s position over the people. The hierarchical structure of society therefore has its grounding in the form and vital forces of the universe.

Heaven has the ch’i of both Yin and Yang, as does earth. Because the position (wei) of Heaven is lofty and superior to earth, its activities most frequently are manifestations of Yang. The activities of earth also combine the forces of Yin and Yang, but the supporting position of Yin is most often dominant. This is comparable to the paired status of ruler and minister and father and

92 CCFL, Ch. 49, 12.1b: "A constant [principle] of Heaven and earth is the succession of Yin and Yang. Yang is the virtue (te) of Heaven. Yin is the punishment (hsing) of Heaven." See also Fung, Vol. II., pp. 29-30.

93 CCFL, Ch. 18, 6.4b: "Heaven makes high its position but sends down its favors. It conceals its form but manifests its splendor. By making its position high it is respected."
All goodness is attributed to the ruler and all wickedness is attributed to the ministers. The righteousness of the minister compares with the earth. Therefore, those who act as ministers may be regarded as is the earth's service to Heaven.... The actions of a filial son and the righteousness of a loyal minister are both modeled on earth. Earth serving Heaven is like the subordinate (hsia) serving the superior (shang). Earth is the correlate of Heaven.\(^9\)

Here the subordinate part of status pairing clearly has a supporting position even to the extent of passing any credit to the superior while accepting all blame. This is a recurring theme in the CCFL. Whatever is the position of Yin is unable to act alone. It cannot arise on its own authority, nor can it alone share in accomplishments.\(^9\)^ Likewise, the Yang requires the support of Yin. This necessary connection between superior and subordinate permeates the complete structure of society. The link between cosmological and human status pairings is the Son of Heaven (t'ien-tzu 天子), who is the ruler of the people.

The ruler who has received the Mandate of Heaven (t'ien-ming 天命) to rule the people is called the Son of Heaven.\(^9\)^ "Therefore, if his title (hao) is the Son of Heaven, he should serve Heaven as he serves his father by

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\(^{9}\) CCFL, Ch. 44, 11.6a. In Su Yu, CCFLYC, see Ch. 43, 11.7a-b.

\(^{95}\) CCFL, Ch. 53, 12.6a.

\(^{96}\) CCFL, Ch. 19, 6.5b. "He who rules the people is the origin (yuan 元) of the state (kue). What he says and what he does are the essential point of the 10,000 things."
serving Heaven with the way of filial piety." The Son of Heaven is clearly subordinate to Heaven. But he is superior to the rest of society. The next level of status groupings below the ruler is composed of nobles and government officials. "Those who have noble titles should carefully observe the Son of Heaven in order to attend and serve him." There are five levels of nobility subordinate to the Son of Heaven. "They all take a state (kung 國) or a city (pa 城) as their title." Beginning from the highest rank, the five levels of nobility are kung 公, huo 僕, pa 伯, tsu 子, and nan 男. These have been conventionally translated as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron. There are various titles for the ministers, including tai-fu 太夫, ch'ing 郇, kung 公, kuan 官, and shih 士. These can be translated as great officer, minister, ducal minister, and (ordinary) officer. By far the most common term for minister in the CCFI is ch'en 臣, which appears to be a title used to refer collectively to all types of ministers to the ruler.

97 CCFI, Ch. 35, 10.1a.
98 Ibid.
99 CCFI, Ch. 70, 15.5a. "State" here refers to territory granted to a noble by the ruler.
100 See CCFI, Ch. 28, 8.2b for further details concerning these ranks and the numerous ranks for official bureaucratic positions. Both systems are given cosmological grounding.
101 Ch'en appears more than 170 times in the CCFI.
Beneath these politically important status positions are the masses of the people. The terms used to classify them are "people" (min 民), the "hundred surnames" (cai-hsing 百姓), and the "common people" (i-i-fu 匡夫 or san-min 散民). All the people are born with the ascribed status of subject.\(^2\) Their birth into society makes them subordinate to the ruler. The masses of people are born into many other ascribed statuses. These are natural positions resulting from sex, age, and family ties. Man as son, as younger brother, as nephew -- these are all "titles" for ascribed statuses. Each of these statuses has a role that defines those actions deemed fitting and proper to the status. Man is socialized into ascribed statuses from birth by the family, extended family, and social environment of which he is a part. The system of kinship terminology, mentioned earlier, serves in part to locate persons within the larger context of society.

Success or failure of ascribed status socialization begins as a family affair. A child needs to be guided and disciplined into the ways of a family member. He learns what is expected from him and what, in turn, he can expect from others. As he matures into the complex web of social relationships and the performance of their content, he

\(^2\) Linton, Study, p. 115, states: "Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from the moment of birth."
becomes transformed by the habituation of education in
dress, conversation, and all other activities appropriate to
his status. If he should forsake the expected actions of
his status, if he should cut the ties of his family and
renounce their training, then he becomes an outcaste from
society. Tung states that those who

... sever the ties of flesh [the biological
relationships of family], and separate from man's
relationships (jen-lun) — we simply call these
convicts and thieves. Those who are without
family name or clan title in the sphere of Heaven
and earth are the lowest of the lowly.103

Human relationships are many, but some are especially
important in the social hierarchy. Tung makes frequent
reference to the "human relationships" (jen-lun),104
presumably the same basic five that are mentioned by
Mencius, which are those between father and son, ruler and
minister, husband and wife, old and young, and between
friends.105 Tung also emphasizes another scheme of
relationships, the Three Bonds [san-k'ang 三綱],106 which
are those between ruler and minister, father and son, and

103 CCFL, Ch. 70, 15.5b.
104 See, for example, CCFL, Ch. 1, 1.5a; Ch. 17, 6.4a; Ch.
23, 7.6b and 7.8b; Ch. 27, 8.2a; and Ch. 70, 15.5b.
105 See Legge, Mencius, Vol. II, pp. 251-252. The Doctrine
of the Mean (Chung-yung 中庸) lists the five primary
relationships somewhat differently: ruler and minister,
father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger
brother, and between friends. See Legge, Vol. I, The
Doctrine of the Mean, pp. 406-407.
106 See CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.5b and Ch. 53, 12.6b. See also Ch.
1, 1.5a where Tung mentions the ta-k'ang 大綱, which
probably is an equivalent term.
husband and wife. These two schemes do not exhaust the possible human relationships, but they often are made to serve as representative models for any and all others.\textsuperscript{107}

These five basic human relationships include those of achieved status.\textsuperscript{108} The achieved statuses of husband-wife, father-mother, ruler-minister are basic pillars of Tung's social structure. The common people almost always achieve the statuses associated with marriage and parenthood. But the statuses of the political realm are much more difficult to achieve. The routes to noble or ministerial status are either military or educational. In times of stability, the latter is practically the only possibility.

A great distinction is made in Confucian philosophies between those achieved statuses of marriage and parenthood and those of the ruler and ministers. For example, Mencius had made a distinction between the ruling segment of society and the general masses of the ruled. In the Mencius 3a.4 he says

Great men (tsa-jen) have their proper business, and little men (hsiao-ten) have their proper business.... Hence, there is a saying, 'Some

\textsuperscript{107} Ch'u's Han Social Structure, already mentioned, discusses the extensively sophisticated scheme of biological relationships current in the Han period. See, for example, pp. 312-317 on the five degrees of relationship for mourning of the later Han, a system with apparently quite early roots.

\textsuperscript{108} Linton, \textit{Study}, p. 115: "The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals at birth, but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort."
labor with their minds and some labor with their strength. Those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them. ’ This is a principle (yi) universally recognized. 109

There is nothing in the CCFI to indicate that Tung disagrees with this view. Fung Yu-lan remarks on the above quotation that “Although Mencius believed that a social distinction must be maintained between the sovereign and the peasants, and between the ruler and the ruled, he held that this existed solely in order to make a cooperative division of labor possible.” 110 It could be argued Mencius may have had much more in mind than a division of labor, and in the case of Tung Chung-shu, there is no doubt that the division between those who rule and those who are ruled is based upon more than economic theory. The division of men into achieved hierarchical statuses is based upon educational transformation. The masses of the people -- the common men -- are educationally unawakened. 111

As the following chapter demonstrates, there are types and degrees of educational transformation. There is specific human socialization in the family and friendship relationships, for example, which entails the learning and practice of virtuous activity. But there is also the

111 CCFI, Ch. 35, 10.1b.
transformation of the whole society toward proper
socialization which serves to rectify society's mores and
customs. This latter area is the province of those who
rule. The knowledge -- the education -- for this task is
much more difficult to attain. Of this more later.

3.4 TITLES AND APPEARANCES

We have already noted the function of kinship terms and
position titles in distinguishing various social statuses.
Tung reinforces these distinctions with discussions of
visual indicators (besides age and sex) that facilitate
knowing one's place. These further clarify the structure
of social activity.

3.4.1 Symbols of Status

Clear social distinctions are essential to the structure
of society. If an individual is to perform appropriate role
activities within any given relationship, he must first know
the status of the person with whom he is dealing. Sumptuary
rules and regulations concerning styles of dress, items of
ornamentation, forms of transportation, and types of housing
give immediate clues concerning status. This facilitates
social interaction.

For the most part, the origin of clothes and
garments was in order to cover the body and warm
the person. However, dyeing with the five colors
and adorning the clothes with ornamentation and

112 See especially Chapters 14, 26, 27, and 28.
decorations was not considered for the benefit of the feelings of the body. Rather, it was to honor the honorable, exalt the virtuous, and clarify the distinctions in the relationships of superiors and subordinates.¹¹³

Appearances give visual support to the distinctions of status in human relationships. Tung recognizes that such distinctions are only a surface manifestation of a person's position in the web of relationships. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the "rectification of titles" refers as well to the rectification of the system of rules and regulations that govern status perquisites. When the ruler rectifies titles it means that he must evaluate not merely whether if an individual properly achieves the requirements of a certain status, but also whether the individual actually is obeying the regulations of that status. Tung warns of the dangers of over-stepping status distinctions in any way. A minister who wears clothing inappropriate to his status is disrupting the proper order of things, and his violation could lead to general chaos.¹¹⁴

Clothing and the other sumptuary regulations single out individuals for status reasons. They reward and exalt, but they also indicate a range of expectations for activity. These expectations are predominantly moral in content.

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¹¹³ Ch. 27, 8.2a. Emphasis added on ming-p'ii-shbang-hsia chin-lun 明別上下之倫 ．

¹¹⁴ See CCFL, Ch. 6, 4.7a-b for examples of rulers who fail to keep hierarchical distinctions by joining their ministers in gambling and womanizing. Disregarding status leads to disastrous results.
Achieved statuses imply more than acquisition of wealth or power. They ideally suggest a high degree of socialization -- of education toward goodness.

3.4.2 Wealth and Status

Tung is worried about the dangers of excess and insufficient wealth. Both lead to chaos in the human relationships. He states in Chapter 27,

Confucius said: 'We should not be worried about poverty, but should worry about others not having a fair share.' Therefore, if there are those who have accumulated much, then there will be those who have nothing at all.\footnote{CCFL, Ch. 27, 8.1a.}

This indicates that there is a finite quantity of wealth in the world. Given the basic inequality of all statuses, this implies that consumption also is unequal. Tung's concern is not an equal distribution of wealth, but a proportionate distribution based on status.\footnote{Tung's position on differentiated consumption with reference to status is not unique. Ťsun Tzu made much the same arguments to demonstrate how human desires and the order of society could be balanced. Cf. Ťsun Tzu, Ch. 5 and Ch. 13. See also the excellent summary by Ch'u, "Chinese Class Structure," pp. 236-237.} He wants to have circumscribed inequality in order to maintain the proper balance between superior and subordinate.

One who is too wealthy is liable to be arrogant. One who is too poor is likely to grieve. One who grieves can become a thief. One who is arrogant can become cruel. This is the emotions of all the people. But those who are Sages are able to see what gives birth to chaos in the people's emotions. Therefore, they regulate the way of man.
and differentiate between the superiors and subordinates.117

Tung recommends that the rich should display their exalted position without arrogance and the poor should be able to stay alive without fear. The ruler must enforce sumptuary standards for personal consumption to "balance and average" the people. "Therefore, wealth is not deficient and the superiors and subordinates dwell together in peace."118 Tung believes such is the nature of man that desires are inexhaustible. Therefore, they must be regulated. There is constant pressure on the ruler to regulate these basic desires or else fail in administering the people. Tung eloquently summarizes this problem.

During the present times, people abandon these rules and regulations and each person follows his desires (yu). Desires are inexhaustible and so the custom is such that there is no self-restraint. This tendency is without end. The rulers (ta-ian 大人) above worry about insufficiencies, and common people (hsiao-min 小民) below are lean and emaciated. Yet those who are wealthy still seek for more profit and are not willing to act in accord with righteousness. Those who are impoverished daily violate the prohibitions and cannot be stopped. This is why times are difficult to make orderly.119

This passage illustrates the need for regulation governing the wealth and consumption of various statuses to ensure proportional consumption of finite resources. The theme of inequality among people in Tung's philosophy refers

117 CCEL, Ch. 27, 8.1a.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
not only to status positions, but also to the quantity and quality of consumption by those in the positions. 120

Part of the education of man to goodness therefore involves regulating his economic consumption in the social hierarchy. Statuses have economic perquisites and to exceed them is to tear the social fabric. The good man, as we shall see, knows his place and demonstrates this in part through his proportionate consumption of things. Status acts as a form of restriction on man's expectations for food, clothing, and shelter. Sumptuary rules and regulations serve to clarify and maintain social distinctions.

3.5 MAN AS SOCIAL BEING

We have seen that man is born into a social environment and that it is an especially tight knit fabric of correlative statuses that binds all people together in superior-subordinate relationships. Furthermore, these necessary, ascribed statuses are supplemented by achieved statuses that create family, friendship, and political relationships. Tung's analysis of correlative statuses suggests that any given individual is not simply part of a

120 See CCFL, Ch. 26, 7.13a which discusses the garments of the Son of Heaven, his concort, of the generals and ministers. The chapter concludes with "The common people (san-zig) do not dare wear variegated colored garments. Craftsmen and tradesmen do not dare wear fox furs or badger fur. People who have suffered legal punishments and slaves do not dare wear silk or crimson, nor dare ride a horse."
vague social context -- he is required *qua* man to be in a web of statuses. This indicates that the nature of man is social in a very particular way. Because of Tung's *Yin-Yang* analysis of the basic substance of man, and of the operations of the correlative relationships at the foundation of status, it appears that his philosophical position argues that man is born with inherent roles expected of him. The socialization of man is a continuing process of elucidating those roles expected of him based upon his status. Man is born into a web of relationships and, as he matures, achieves other relationships in concert with his abilities. In all cases, man is defined -- is described, is located, is considered important -- only in terms of his place and activity in a social environment. As we shall see, society is not a contractual conglomerate of atomistic individuals. Instead, the structure of society is based upon the cosmological structure of things wherein every thing has correlative entities and cannot act independently of them. The next chapter addresses the implications of this in terms of status and duties.
Chapter IV

STATUSES AND DUTIES

Man is judged good or bad according to his actions. The molds for actions performed within society's hierarchical scheme of statuses are called roles. While statuses -- following the analysis of "titles" in the previous chapter -- have general normative meaning, roles have specific normative requirements. The status "father," for example, defines a norm that identifies those general virtues commensurate with being a correct, complete father. This is "title" as normative model. "Father" as "name" defines a role, the concrete reality (shih ㋇) of actions appropriate to being a father, always including some specific actions required of him toward his children, such as proper terms of address, discipline, and family socialization. This is name as role performance. Names point toward specific and particular instances to which the norm implied in the title is to be applied. The names prescribe the method of applying title norms. To put it another way, a title is a universal or general statement of a norm; a name points to the proper application of the norm in particular cases of action.

- 71 -
In the previous chapter I suggested a hierarchical paradigm for social statuses based upon the cosmological interaction of Yin and Yang in order to provide a structure for organizing Tung's discussions of the nature and perfection of man. I seek to prove in this chapter that the hierarchical system of statuses defines duties for those individuals in the various statuses Tung delineates in the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-liu.

There are two potential areas of difficulty with a system of statuses. First, the arrangement of status might be "incorrect." Titles are arranged hierarchically and have their correlative pairings, and this arrangement is based upon the cosmological order of things. If statuses are out of order -- are uncontrolled -- then chaos can result.121

A second potential difficulty is that the general norms embodied by the titles may be incorrect. They may disagree with what is ultimately the correct way (tao) of man's actions. Aristotle, in the Politics, mentions the possibility of a man in the colis being a good citizen but a

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121 See, for example, CCEL, Ch. 24: "The Official System as an Imitation of Heaven," 7.9a-11b, where Tung analyzes the bureaucratic structure that supports the ruler. The whole organization of ministerial offices is grounded on cosmological theory. This chapter is of special interest because it is an example of "bureaucracy by the numbers," that is, the proper -- normative -- arrangement of governmental positions is based upon numerical symmetry found in the nature of the universe. Institutional historians might find this interesting because numerical symmetry serves not only to organize the bureaucracy, but also to limit its size, a perennial institutional problem.
bad man. This means that the accepted norms of action governing the citizen are skewed. Tung's philosophy also accounts for the same possibility: the accepted interpretation of normative titles might be wrong.

Tung insists that the ruler ensure that both names and titles be rectified (cheng). If they are rectified then the possibility of performing correct roles within proper statuses is assured. "The method of ordering the empire lies in the differentiation of what is important. The correct differentiation of the important lies in the names and titles." 122 To "differentiate" means quite simply to have the skill to determine differences between observed things. The ruler who knows the names and titles can compare them with the ideal way of Heaven and with actual events to determine whether or not norms and their application are correct. Then "right and wrong (shih-fei 是非) can be known and deviation and conformity (ni-shun 近順) become apparent." 123

At the heart of the theory of the rectification of names is the possibility that one can achieve a developed and demonstrated ability to ascertain right from wrong — for example, to know whether the observed actions of a father or minister in fact square with the concept of how a father or minister ought to act. To be able to differentiate

122 CCPL, Ch. 35, 10.1a.
123 Ibid.
correctly means that one understands the norms governing performance, which in turn means that one understands the Way of Heaven (t'ien-tao 天道). The ideal embodiment of this knowledge and skill was the Sagely person (shang-jen 聖人).

Heaven does not speak, but expects man to manifest its intentions. Heaven does not act, but expects man to carry out its goal. Names, then, are Heaven's intentions which were manifested by the Sages.12*

Thus, the "names" are definitions of expected role performance. The ruler, the minister, the noble, and even the common man have varying degrees of this skill and its requisite power of judgment. Each is able in some degree to recognize his proper roles within society's hierarchy of status positions. Ideally speaking, the more complete (ch'eng 成) an individual's moral development, the higher his place in the hierarchical scheme of things.

The ability to differentiate not only names but also titles provides the capability of judging whether there is in fact congruence between the designated requirements and the actual content of any particular role definition. Should there be deviation (shih 失) from correct names and titles, then it is appropriate that the ruler be counseled to change and rectify the situation. But why is the ruler expected to rectify names and titles? How does he acquire the position from which he can do so? What gives the ruler authority to

12* Ibid., 10.1b.
manage society and to direct man's moral education? In the following sections I suggest that Tung's various uses of the concept of ming explains the authority structure of society, and that this structure in turn explains how duties arise in both political and personal statuses. "Hierarchy" was defined in the preceding chapter as an interrelated organization of persons and things arranged by position, in an ascending series of levels, each with differing degrees of authority. I shall seek to show how ming charges this hierarchical system of status with specified duties.

There are both social-political and personal dimensions to Tung's use of ming. First, I will analyze the social-political use and implications of the term.

4.1 MING AND SOCIAL-POLITICAL DUTIES

4.1.1 Ming as Mandate of Heaven

Heaven (t'ien) is the ultimate legitimation for the ruler's political authority. This is evidenced in Tung's use of ming in the sense of "Mandate of Heaven," expressed directly as t'ien-ming 天命, or in the construction of

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125 See S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, The Principles of Political Thought (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 19. "The authority structure is very much a part of what we mean by terms like 'a social system,' and, to a large extent accounts for its continuance as a whole while its members pass away."

126 See CCII, Ch. 1, 1.5a; Ch. 9, 5.2b; Ch. 25, 7.12a; and (where combined with shou as shou-t'ien-ming 天 命) Ch. 69, 15.4a.
the king (wang 王), ruler (chun 君), or Son of Heaven (t’ien-tzu 天子) "receiving the Mandate" shou-ming 受命 from Heaven. It is common to find t’ien-ming and shou-ming translated this way in studies of Chinese history and philosophy in English. The usual definition of "mandate," found in translations of Chinese texts in English, indicates that it is an authoritative command or instruction. But is this true for Tung Chung-shu? It seems to me that such a crucial translation requires proof. Is the Mandate of Heaven an authoritative command or instruction? If so, what kind of commands does the ruler receive in the course of accepting the mandate and what sort of authority is correspondingly conferred upon him?

The mandate of Heaven is bestowed upon one man at a time. "Only the Son of Heaven receives the Mandate from Heaven (wei-t’ien-tzu-shou-ming-yu-t’ien 唯天子受命於天)." Prior to receiving the Mandate, an individual already may be in the position of a ruler because of his power (for example, due to his military prowess or to

127 See Ibid., Ch. 1, 1.4b (2x), 1.5a, 1.5b, and 1.6a; Ch. 15, 6.2a; Ch. 16, 6.2b; Ch. 23, 7.3a, 7.3b (2x), and 7.4a; Ch. 25, 7.11b; Ch. 33, 9.3b and 9.4a; Ch. 34, 9.7b; Ch. 35, 10.1b and 10.5a; Ch. 41, 11.1b; Ch. 64, 14.2b; Ch. 69, 15.4a (2x); and Ch. 70, 15.6a.

128 The discussion that follows focuses only on Tung’s use of the term. Although this analysis might assist the understanding of other Chinese philosophers' use of the concept, I am not asserting that their employment of the concept is identical.

129 CCFI, Ch. 41, 11.1b.
sachinations following the death of a ruling family member), but it does not mean he has, along with this, the legitimate authority to rule. Legitimization requires Heaven. Tung's use of ming clearly indicates that by the Mandate of Heaven, Heaven grants to the ruler legitimate authority to rule. "I [Tung] say that one who is king must first receive the Mandate then afterwards [be the true] king." The Mandate of Heaven legitimates the ruler's position in hierarchical society and entitles him to exercise power. He obtains this status as confirmed ruler because his moral attainment -- his virtue (德) -- is greater than that of anyone else. The "Son of Heaven" is an achieved status.

... it is said that the son of a father is respectable while the son of [only] a mother [i.e., a bastard] is contemptible. One who is respectable receives an exalted title (豪), while one who is contemptible receives a lowly title. Therefore, one whose virtue is equal to that of Heaven and Earth is placed in a position of importance [lit. "on the right side"] by illustrious Heaven which makes him its son by giving him the title Son of Heaven.¹³¹

¹³⁰ CCFL, Ch. 23, 7.24. The term 必, here translated as "must," indicates Tung's imperative emphasis on the Mandate as a necessary condition to kingship. The term 王, "king" or "true king" is equivalent in most cases to 政君, "ruler." Depending upon context, both terms can refer to the "true, virtuous ruler" or just to one who is in the position (wei) of ruler. Both terms as the ideal status position indicate that the individual is morally superior. This is explained at greater length below.

¹³¹ CCFL, Ch. 70, 15.5a.
In this passage the same word, *tsun* 諧, is translated both as "respectable" and "exalted," while *pei* 判 is translated both as "contemptible" and "lowly." This is permissible because in the first occurrences they are coupled with *ko*, a grammatical coupling that indicates a moral evaluation. In the second occurrences they stand alone and, therefore, indicate general social status terms that distinguish superior from subordinate. A significant implication here is that achieved status terms are normative. Superior status indicates that if an individual is correctly positioned in the status, he has greater virtue than his correlative subordinate. Thus, the terms for status positions have correlative evaluational terms that indicate their normative content. 132 The ruler achieves "Son of Heaven" status because his virtue is extraordinary. He is exalted in position and respected for his virtue. Achieved superiority is grounded on moral attainment. 133

132 Tung frequently employs *tsun* and *pei* to emphasize moral and status judgments. In the *CCFl*, *tsun* occurs more than 80 times, and *pei* at least 30 times. Often they express Tung's approval or disapproval of role performance within certain statuses. Two terms with parallel functions are *kuei* 青 (97x) often linked with *debase*, *chien* 慣 (43x). These also are used both as positional and judgmental terms.

133 See Tung's discussion of *Fc I K'ac* in Ch. 33, 9.4a: The ruler "according to his high level of virtue received the Mandate [and] those of courage, bravery, and high intelligence like spokes to the wheel turned to him. The highest were ranked *Kung* and *Hou* in declining order to the high minister and ministers. The multitudes of capable men were ordered according to their virtues."
The Mandate of Heaven confers "Son of Heaven" status on the ruler because of his superior virtue. This status should not be interpreted as a simple reward for past accomplishments. This achieved status legitimates his authority, but that authority carries with it expectations. These expectations define duties. The ruler must act in certain ways toward his superior, Heaven, and toward his subordinates, the people. These duties define specific role performance, including filial piety (hsiao 孝) toward Heaven and love (ai 愛) toward the people.

The record of the Book of Filial Piety (Hsiang Ching 十經) says: 'If one serves his father with filial piety then he can serve Heaven with enlightenment. Serving Heaven and serving one's father are the same rule of propriety (li 礼).'

"A ruler who receives the Mandate of Heaven is the one who has been given it according to Heaven's intentions. Therefore, his title (hac 子) being the Son of Heaven (t'ien-tzu 天子) he should serve Heaven as he serves his father -- serving Heaven with the Way of filial piety (hsiao)."

This title (status) defines the virtuous content of the ruler's activity (role performance). Correct role performance, as we shall see in the next chapter, refers both to the state of being of the ruler's moral character

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134 CCFL, Ch. 25, 7.11b.

135 The Mandate specifically grants the ruler authority to rule, that is, to act as a ruler properly so-called.

136 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.1b.
and to the actual manifestations of that character in moral acts.

The titles for the nobles and the ministers entail expectations of both their character and performance in like fashion. Concerning these expectations, Tung states:

In the case of one's title being a noble, he should carefully observe the Son of Heaven who is attended and served by him. In the case of one's title being minister, he should increase his loyalty (chung 忠) and faithfulness (hsin 信) and strengthen its propriety (li 礼) and righteousness (yi 义).\(^{137}\)

This scheme for two contrastive titles in the official bureaucratic hierarchy is significant because there are a limited number of discrete titles, each of which designate different roles. Each title encompasses "names" or definitions of what the individuals holding the title are expected to be and to do. Each title indicates a person's position in the hierarchy and indicates both the duties of the position and how the position interrelates upwards and downwards, with the rest of the hierarchy. Tung quotes the Book of Odes to emphasize the significance of these relationships and concomitant actions:

The Book of Odes says: Now, when something is titled, it has a certain relationship and a certain path.\(^{138}\)

\(^{137}\) Ibid.

\(^{138}\) Ibid. 10.2a.
The duties of statuses require continuous performance of appropriate roles. For example, the duty of the ruler toward Heaven -- his superior -- is displayed through the imperial sacrifices. Tung discusses the form, content, and purpose of these performances in considerable detail.\textsuperscript{139} The ruler's duty toward the people -- his subordinates -- is fulfilled when he educates them to goodness.

It is the ruler's duty to educate the people because, as we have seen in Chapter II, the nature man inherits from Heaven requires the socialization only a king can provide. Not to perform this role function, which is at the heart of his status, would cause the ruler to disobey the great Mandate: to perfect the people and the empire.

That which causes the duty (\textit{jen} 任) is the true king receiving the intentions of Heaven to complete the nature of the people. Now, according to [man's] real substance, for those who say that the nature of the people is already good, this is neglecting Heaven's intentions and abandoning the true king's duty. With regard to the people's nature, if it is already good, then when the king receives the Mandate, what duties can he still have? This would be to give a name which is incorrect, consequently one's abandoning one's most important duty and disobeying the great Mandate [the Mandate of Heaven]. This is unprincipled speech.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{139} See especially CCFI, Chapters 65, 66, 67, 69, and 71, which focus on the \textit{chiao} 祭 sacrifices, and Chapter 68 which discusses the four seasonal sacrifices. Chapters 72, 74, 75, and 76 deal with the specific preparations, implements, and timing for various sacrifices. The \textit{chiao} sacrifice parallels the importance of sacrifices made by the son to his ancestors. Much could be said about this aspect of the legitimate ruler's duties, but this subject is not essential to our present analysis of the nature and perfection of man.
The word I have translated here as "duty," Jen 健, can also be translated as "charge." The Mandate of Heaven charges the ruler to act in a certain way. It requires him to fulfill the expectations of his position as legitimate ruler. These expectations are inherent within the Mandate. Therefore, the "charge" has the force of creating duties. The ruler's duty as educator of the people complements Tung's analysis of man's nature.

There are other imperative actions expected of the ruler after he receives the Mandate. "One who becomes the true king must recast the dynastic calendar, change the official dress, and regulate ceremonies and music so that they are the same throughout the empire (t'ien-hsia)."141 These actions are undertaken in order to demonstrate that the ruler has legitimate authority to command the people. We have seen that "Only the Son of Heaven receives the Mandate from Heaven," yet Tung adds,

The empire receives its command (ming) from the Son of Heaven. One state (kuo) then receives its commands from the ruler. If the ruler's commands comply [with what is correct], then the people will have agreeable commands. If the ruler's commands deviate [from what is correct], then the people will have disagreeable commands.142

140 CCFL, Ch. 35, 10.5a.
141 CCFL, Ch. 23, 7.2b-3a. The word fi 必, "must," is an imperative term.
142 CCFL, Ch. 41, 11.1b.
This passage implies two things. First, Heaven delegates ruling authority to its subordinate, the Son of Heaven, who in turn commands the people. The ruler's *ming* is best translated as "command"; he uses the authority from the Mandate as a justification for his own delegation of authority expressed in commands directly to the people, as well as through his political subordinates, the ministers and the nobles (who rule limited territories within the empire).

Second, this passage indicates that the authority that the ruler wields and expresses in his commands is subject to the evaluation of Heaven. The ruler's commands may "comply" (*shun* 順) or "deviate" (*shih* 失). This suggests there is some sort of standard by which the ruler is expected to measure his actions. Heaven, in granting the Mandate to the ruler, has purpose in doing so. Mandated political authority has goals levied upon it. If the "intentions" (*yi* 意) or "will" (*chih* 志) of Heaven — these terms indicate purpose — are not complied with by the Son of Heaven, the Mandate can be withdrawn. The Mandate indicates that the ruler is expected not only to be filial to Heaven, but also to serve his subjects.

... Heaven's giving birth to the people is not for the sake of the King. On the contrary, Heaven's enthroning the king is for the sake of the people. Therefore, if his virtue is sufficient to pacify and please the people, then Heaven gives it [the Mandate] to him. If his badness is sufficient to rob and injure the
people, then Heaven snatchest it from him.\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{3}

Tung immediately reinforces this statement with a passage from the \textit{Book of Odes}: "The Mandate of Heaven is not constant."\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4} Therefore authority to rule may be withdrawn by Heaven. The ruler retains his status as long as his actions merit the Mandate. The ruler must maintain his legitimacy by continuous performance of his duties to Heaven and the people. His achieved status is based upon past and continuing qualitatively exceptional performance. Deviation from the correct way, from performing correct activities, can bring about the loss of legitimacy. "Those who Heaven rejects [i.e. rulers], the people of the empire do not dare to shield. Chieh and Chou are examples of this."\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{5} Chieh and Chou are two corrupt kings of antiquity -- the last rulers of Hsia and Shang dynasties -- who frequently serve as negative models for ruling. They lost the Mandate because they ceased to perform the duties of their status as Son of Heaven. Tung is saying what happened in history remains possible in contemporary times.

We now can say that "duties" exist in Tung's philosophy in so far as the requirements of status have been defined in terms of "expected actions." These "expected actions" have been grounded on a theory of hierarchical authority with

\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{3} \textit{CCP}, Ch. 25, 7.12a.

\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{5} \textit{CCP}, Ch. 33, 9.3b.
Heaven at its apex. Heaven is purposive and requires of the ruler specific actions toward his superior and his subordinates. The authority structure establishes a system of hierarchical duties that reside in all achieved statuses. We need to examine ming as "command" to see how this is possible.

4.1.2 *Ming as Command*

The Son of Heaven carries out Heaven's intentions (*t'ien-yi* 天意) by correctly acting in his role as ruler. But he cannot achieve Heaven's purpose without assistance. He therefore delegates portions of his authority to subordinates. This is done through commands (ming) to his ministers and the nobles. The ministers and nobles may in turn command (ming) their own limited numbers of subordinates because of the legitimization of their status (and roles) provided by the authority invested in them by the ruler. The delegation of authority creates expectations. Superiors expect subordinates to exercise delegated authority correctly. If the subordinate succeeds, he is praised; if he fails, he is shamed and even punished.

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146 An example of ming as command from a minister to a subordinate is found in Chapter 26, 7.13a: "The generals and ministers cannot wear [the clothing of their ranks] to attend banquets or their ancestral temple. Generals and ministers wear it when giving audience to ministers and officials and when giving commands (ming 旨) to their subordinate officials...."
Tung's use of ming as "command" demonstrates that the delegation of authority from ruler to subordinates is analogous to that from Heaven to ruler, except that the scope of authority narrows at each lower level of the authority system. Delegation of authority must adhere to two general principles to be successful. It first must follow a distinct hierarchical scheme, and second must not give more power than is necessary. The true king must maintain his superior position and remain circumspect in his sentiments so that his subordinates have only respect and loyalty to him, because "if their [rulers and subordinates] Way were the same, then one would not be able to lead the other. If their sentiments were the same, then one would not be able to subordinate the other." Tung continues,

... there has never been a ruler who has abandoned his authority (ch'nan) and been able to control his power. There has never been a ruler who could not differentiate between the honorable and base and be able to preserve his position. Therefore rulers are attentive to these.

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147 See, for example, CCEL, Ch. 2, 1.8b; Ch. 3, 2.3a; Ch. 4, 3.4b (3x) and 3.5b; Ch. 5, 3.7b (2x) and 3.8a; Ch. 6, 4.4a, 4.6a, and 4.9a; Ch. 8, 5.2a (2x); Ch. 59, 13.8a; Ch. 71, 15.8a; and Ch. 78, 17.4a.

148 CCEL, Ch. 6, 4.9a.

149 This term, which occurs at least thirty-five times in the CCEL, may be translated as either power or authority. In this passage the latter alternative seems to fit better because another term for "power" appears later in the same sentence.

150 Ibid., Ch. 6, 4.9a-b.
The ruler who safeguards his authority and position can delegate circumscribed authority with confidence that "of the myriad states of the empire there is none which would dare not to completely carry out their duties (chih 職) and receive his commands (shou-sing)."\(^{151}\)

The word chih, here translated as "duty," is one of the terms closest to "duty" or "responsibility" I have found in the CCPE. It occurs at least fifteen times in the text and in all but two instances indicates that a ruler, minister, or noble is to carry out the duties of his position.\(^{152}\) For example, "The nobles of the empire, each according to his chih, came to sacrifice."\(^{153}\) Or, "A ruler in administering a nation [here "ruler" also could be a noble who rules a smaller state] must have three years [of grain] in storage. To have one year without harvest and then ask to buy grain -- this is a case of the ruler deviating from his chih."\(^{154}\)

Both of these examples indicate that a particular status entails a particular duty inherent in the status. On two occasions the chih of the ministers is compared with the Five Powers. For example, "although metal, wood, water, and

\(^{151}\) Ibid., 4.9a. Note the same combination, shou-sing, occurs both in this context as well as between Heaven and Son of Heaven.

\(^{152}\) See CCPE Ch. 6, 4.1b, 4.5b, 4.9a; Ch. 10, 5.4a; Ch. 11, 5.4b; Ch. 19, 6.6b; Ch. 21, 7.1b (2x); Ch. 41, 11.2a; Ch. 42, 11.3a (2x); Ch. 78, 17.2a, 17.3b; 17.4a; Ch. 80, 17.7b.

\(^{153}\) CCPE, Ch. 6, 4.1b.

\(^{154}\) Ibid., 4.5b.
fire each has its causal" they require earth to organize
them. There is a cosmological order to the Five Powers
that provides a paradigm for the arrangement and duties of
the ruler's ministers. (This is discussed further in
Chapter V, Section 1.)

The duties governing role performance fit into the
hierarchical scheme of society. For example, the minister
is subordinate to the ruler like the earth is subordinate to
Heaven. In the previous chapter we noted that the
subordinate entity in correlative positions was
supplementary, supporting, and necessarily attached to the
superior. These facts are illustrated by the following
selection from Chapter 78:

As for those who are ministers, their methods are
modeled after earth. Therefore, from morning to
night ... by undertaking his duties (chih) [of
office] and in responding to imperial affairs, he
serves the honorable.... By subordinating himself
and offering his life and serving without usurping
authority, he is loyal. By exhausting himself in
writing his views and never glossing over his
faults, he expresses his faithfulness.156

The ministers "receive the commands" of the ruler and assist
him in achieving the reputation of a superior man. They do
not take credit for their accomplishments, but pass all
recognition of virtue on to the ruler. This is all modeled
on the way earth supports Heaven. Earth supports the 10,000
things and "the minister illuminates his duties (chih)."157

155 CCFL, Ch. 42, 11.3a. See also Ch. 80, 17.7b.
156 CCFL, Ch. 78, 17.3b-4a.
Ming requires duties (chih) not only within achieved political statuses but also in achieved statuses in the family. Here ming once again integrates the parts of the hierarchy and explains how authority is delegated from superiors to subordinates. Ultimately a duty to carry out the commands of status extends back to the apex of the hierarchy, Heaven.

The Son of Heaven receives his commands (ming) from Heaven, the nobles receive their commands from the Son of Heaven, the son receives his commands from the father, the ministers and concubines receive their commands from their ruler, the wife receives her commands from the husband. Of all of those who receive commands that which they respect in all cases is Heaven. If one were to say that they [all] receive their commands from Heaven, this is permissible.\(^{157}\)

Note that "Mandate" could be substituted above for "command" with little change in meaning. The commands are charges to subordinates to perform the duties appropriate to their status. In both cases it is clear that the idea of an authoritative command to act in prescribed ways is intended.

If a person is unable to follow the command or, worse, ignores it, then deleterious results and ignominy follow.

If the Son of Heaven is not able to receive [accept] the commands of Heaven, then he will be rejected and called "duke".... If the dukes and nobles are not able to receive the commands of the Son of Heaven, then their name (ming 𠄱) will be severed and they cannot take their position .... If a son cannot receive the commands of his father, then he will be guilty of a crime.... If a minister does not receive the commands of his


\(^{158}\) *Ibid.*
ruler, then although he be a good man, he is still spoken of as a rebel.... If a concubine does not receive the commands of her ruler, then she is nothing but a maid [she loses all privileges].... Thus it is said, one who does not comply (shun 禁) with commands in accord with Heaven has committed a crime like this.159

Notice that the commands need to be "in accord with Heaven." This means that the Way of Heaven is the ultimate norm for all commands.

Tung quotes Confucius as saying, "We should fear the commands (ming 命) of Heaven, fear the great men, (ta-jiin 大人), and fear the words of the Sages."160 Why? Because the ming of Heaven prescribes the expectations that man must meet, the ruler and the high-ranking ministers interpret the commands expressed by Heaven, and the words of the Sages (as well as their actions) provide normative examples of the activities Heaven expects of man. All are to be feared — better, respected and honored — as the sources of man's duties.

Thus we see in ming, used both as "Mandate of Heaven" and as "commands," that expectations for specific duties are created by the delegation of authority from superior to subordinate statuses. These are all duties within achieved statuses. They are grounded in and defined by the authority system that originates in Heaven. In the next section I suggest that duties are inherent in ascribed statuses as

159 CCPF, Ch. 70, 15.6a-b.
160 Ibid., 15.6b.
well.

4.2 **MING AND PERSONAL DUTIES**

*MING* also can be translated as "life," but its translation as "purposeful life" is more accurate.\(^{161}\) *MING* in the sense of life with a purpose or goal occurs several times in the text of the *CCFL*.\(^{162}\) In each case it is clear from the context that man's reception of *MING* from Heaven carries with it expectations for his actions. Man alone of the 10,000 things receives *MING* from Heaven. Parents give birth (*SHENG* 生) to a child; they provide essential biological existence. But man's nature (*HSING*) and purposeful life (*MING*) is bestowed (*SHIH* 施) by Heaven. Man "receives nature and life" (*SHOW-HSING-MING*) from Heaven. We already have examined the nature of man in some detail, but *MING*, often linked with *HSING*, adds a further dimension to man's existence.

Heaven in the granting of *MING* (hereafter "life") to man creates expectations of man's actions. Man's actions are equivalent to his role performance. His role performance ideally follows the intentions of Heaven. Heaven particularly expects man to act with righteousness and

\(^{161}\) This translation is also suggested in a footnote by Professor F. W. Mote in Hsiao Kung-chuan, *History*, p. 489.

\(^{162}\) See, for example, *CCFL*, Ch. 2, 1.8a; Ch. 3, 2.5b (2x); Ch. 13, 5.Ob; Ch. 44, 11.5b; Ch. 77, 16.2b; and Ch. 80, 17.5b.
benevolence. "Heaven in constituting man's nature and life expects his actions to be benevolent and righteous, and is ashamed if men do despicable things." Man does not exist solely for his own advantage, seeking only to protect himself and pursue personal gain. To do so would make him no different from "birds and beasts." Man, unlike birds and beasts, is charged with purposeful life, which means that Heaven expects the unformed, unrefined substance (chih) of his original nature to be refined. The vital forces of Yin and Yang with which Heaven constitutes man's nature need direction, discipline, regulation, control, and transformation. If this process takes place in compliance with Heaven's intentions, with Heaven's purpose, then man will become good. Goodness is a result of action, of role performance defined by duties. Roles require external socialization, that is, education within the social and political relationships. Therefore, Heaven's granting of life to man creates ascribed duties in man. He is born into ascribed statuses that prescribe social actions. Man's nature must be educated so his actions conform with the duties of his statuses. "When a man is first born he has his great ming. This is body. That which changes his ming during his existence is his government (cheng)." This

163 CCFL, Ch. 3, 2.5b.
164 Ibid.
165 CCFL, Ch. 13, 5.7a. Cheng also may be translated as "management".
indicates that when the nature is refined during maturation, life is transformed toward its virtuous ends. Man's reception of duties inherent in Heaven's ming, and his proper fulfillment of expected roles in line with ming, gives rise to perfected virtues. Duties define the activities that constitute man's daily existence, the progress of his life. Duties are learned through the transformation of man's original nature by external education. Man fulfills duties and his role performance becomes righteous and benevolent when he properly follows the intentions of Heaven. But knowing the intentions of Heaven is difficult. It is the responsibility of the ruler to impart this information to his subjects. If the ruler is successful, then the virtuous roles that give content to the hierarchy of status duties will be achieved.

In man's receiving life from heaven, he takes benevolence from Heaven and becomes benevolent... he has the relationships of father, older brother, son, and younger brother; he has the mind of loyalty, faithfulness, compassion, and graciousness, he has the actions of propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility, and humility; and he has the ordering of right and wrong, deviation and compliance.166

Tung states that convicts and thieves are the lowest of men because they abandon the various relationships. By so doing, they totally deviate from the ideal Way of Heaven and the sort of life with a purposeful end -- that is, one characterized by good actions -- which that entails. Like

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166 CCFL, Ch. 44, 11.5b.
the Mandate of Heaven, 作 to man can be withdrawn. Purposeful life can be terminated when the duties of ascribed status are neglected.

Therefore, those who are guilty of great crimes and who are not given the life (作) of Heaven all abandon their Heavenly relationships. The relationship of man toward Heaven is such that by means of the Way he receives life. The relationship of man to man is such that by means of speech each receives his commands. If one does not live up to the Way, Heaven severs it [life]. If one does not live up to one's word [that is, fulfill one's commands], then men sever it. 167

Clearly society's human relationships are necessary for man to correctly develop a purposeful life and, in the process, to achieve the duties of his status.

The duties of status prescribe what activities are expected of man. These activities are closely linked with virtues and emotions. The next chapter focuses on the role section of the status and role paradigm introduced in Chapter III.

167 CCEI, Ch. 70, 15.6a.
Chapter V

ROLES AND VIRTUES

Man is social and his position in the social environment is determined by ascribed and achieved statuses. Statuses assign duties. Roles define those actions that fulfill man's duties. Actions that fulfill duties may be called "role performance." The proper content of role performance is virtuous activity. Virtuous activity leads to "goodness" (shan). Man's goodness results from accumulated virtuous habits of mind and action. Habitual goodness is evidence of personal refinement.

The hierarchy of statuses, we have seen in the two preceding chapters, is based upon principles found in the cosmological forces of Yin and Yang. I suggest in this chapter that correct role performance within these statuses is based upon principles of change found in the Five Powers and the Four Seasons. It is necessary to use these, coupled with ch'i and Yin and Yang, to demonstrate the form and content of man's actions in Tung's system.
5-1 THE FIVE POWERS, FOUR SEASONS, AND THE WORLD

The Five Powers (wu-hsing) and the Four Seasons (ssu-shih) are differentiated manifestations of ch'i that serve to explain the nature of change and how change animates the world and man. "Heaven," Tung states, "has Five Powers. These are wood (mu 木), fire (hou 火), earth (tu 土), metal (ch'ien 金), and water (shui 水)."^{168} "Power" refers to "function," and "because their functions are not the same, therefore they are called the Five Powers."^{169} Heaven arranged their sequence — wood, fire, earth, metal, and water — and each gives rise to the next, as fathers produce sons.^{170} Man's biological sequence of fathers giving birth to sons, who in turn become fathers themselves, matches the cosmic order of the Five Powers. Both sequences are hierarchical with Heaven at the apex.

The sequence of the Five Powers is united with the Four Seasons by the middle Power of earth.^{171} Earth is selected because "of the Five Powers, none is more deserving of respect than earth."^{172} Wood is associated with spring, fire with summer, metal with autumn, and water with winter, and earth is associated with the end of summer.^{173} Presumably

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168 CCFI, Ch. 38, 10.8a.
169 CCFI, Ch. 58, 13.4b.
170 CCFI, Ch. 42, 11.2a and Ch. 38, 10.8a.
171 CCFI, Ch. 42, 11.3a.
172 CCFI, Ch. 38, 10.8b.
because that is the turning point when the dominance of Yang is replaced by Yin in the course of the year.

Each division of the Four Seasons controls (chu 竺) a portion of the world's growth cycle. Man is part of the world's 10,000 things and the seasons affect their environment. Thus, spring controls birth (sheng), summer controls growth (chang 長), the end of summer controls nourishment (yang 養), autumn controls harvesting (shou 收), and winter controls storing (ts'ang 藏). These four complete the birth and growth cycle of the things of the world. Tung also assigns locations to Five Powers, again with earth as the center. Wood is in the east, fire in the south, metal in the west, water in the north — all surrounding earth. Earth therefore is the center of the Powers, unites the Powers and seasons, and is the center of the cardinal directions. Three actions are implied by the schemes of the Five Powers, Four Seasons, and cardinal directions. First, there is the idea of controlled change; ideally in the realm of nature, there is a correct sequence or order of things. Second, in each scheme earth acts as the central authority or coordinator of the whole, which suggests that in all natural sequences there is some one entity that presides over, or takes charge of the whole.

173 CCFL, Ch. 38, 10.8a.
174 Ibid.
175 CCFL, Ch. 42, 11.2b.
Third, each sequential scheme reaches some sort of completion. The term "completion," ch'eng 成, when used with reference to man means "perfection." All three of these notions are significant for the development and perfection of man, as the following sections illustrate.

5.2 THE FIVE POWERS AND THE FIVE OFFICIALS

We have seen (Chapter III) that there are polar positions in all status relationships. Yin-Yang theory served to explain why these relationships were hierarchical. I have indicated that the behavior of individuals toward one another within these relationships can be called "role performance." I suggest in the following pages that the Five Powers and the Four Seasons serve as explanatory principles for role performance. To my knowledge this application has not been detected and commented upon previously. In this section I will focus especially on how the Five Powers organize and explain the specific roles and interactions of the ministers and the ruler. I concentrate on Tung's analysis of these topics in Chapters 58 and 59, which I believe explain how man's role performance is an analogue of macrocosmic order. Hsiao Kung-chuan's work, cited earlier, quotes and paraphrases a

176 For example, Fung Yu-lan, Wing-tsit Chan, and T.Y. Tain do not indicate this sort of application. Hsu Fu-kuan discusses "the Five Powers and ministerial system" (wu-hsing-yu-kuan-chih) of CCFL, Chapters 58 and 59, but says "they have no significant meaning." See Hsiao, History, pp. 490-492. 
substantial portion of Chapters 58 and 59. However, he concludes "That from a modern point of view, all this is meaningless." He adds, "It is set forth here to display the special qualities of Tung's thought."\(^1\) While I agree that these chapters "display special qualities," I demonstrate, contrary to Hsiao's analysis, that they are not "meaningless."

Tung's extended explanation of the correlation between the Five Powers and five main ministerial positions begins with the following: "The Five Powers are [like] the five officials (kuan 官). When they are together they give rise to each other; when separated they overcome each other."\(^2\) Here sheng 生, translated as "give rise to," could be rendered as "give birth to," but the meaning within the context of this chapter implies the idea of "facilitating" or "assisting." Further, sheng 胜, translated as "overcome," carries the idea of "disciplining."\(^3\) Tung concludes his introductory comments by saying that activity contrary either to the Powers or to the officials giving rise to each other brings chaos (luan) while if the activity of the Powers and officials conform there will be order

\(^1\) See Hsiao Kung-chuan, History, p. 492, n. 70.

\(^2\) CCEF, Ch. 58, 13.4b.

\(^3\) Note that the terms not only define correlative polar concepts, but also they are homonymous. Perhaps Tung found this fact appealing in the sense that the meanings of these terms had natural similarity in sound.
Tung correlates each official with one of the Five Powers: the Power of wood with the Minister of Agriculture, fire with the Minister of War, earth with the Chief Minister, metal the Minister of Education, and water with the Minister of Crimes. These are all "titles" for offices and by their alignment with the Powers they have a macrocosmic basis for their proper sequential order. Significantly, the Chief Minister is matched with earth, the most honored of the Five Powers. Just as the Powers sequentially give rise to and thereby assist one another, so do the five ministers. If the Minister of Agriculture keeps the national granaries and treasuries full, then the Minister of War has adequate supplies and funds for the armies. If the Minister of War guarantees peace for the empire, then the Chief Minister can best serve the ruler through good advice and administration. If the Chief Minister is adept at administration, then the Minister of Education promotes the proper balance and performance of personal and public affairs (shih 禮). If the Minister of Education has succeeded, then the Minister of Crime will not be inundated with litigations and the people will be friendly with those who administer the law. If the Minister of Crime is uncorrupted and adjudicates fairly within the scheme of positions, ranks, and seniority (an important

180 CCEL, Ch. 58, 13.4b.
qualification for the hierarchy of statuses), then the people will work in their proper positions and the results of their labors will support the minister in charge of the fields -- who is the Minister of Agriculture.\footnote{Ibid., 13.4b-13.5b.} Thus, the cycle is complete. Just as there is mutual support and order, among the Five Powers, so there is positive interaction and order among the ministers.

Tung has defined, up to this point, only the positions and general expectations of the ministers' performance. Much more specific expectations are tied to the specific virtue each minister is supposed to emphasize. These virtues delineate more specific role performances. The sequence of five virtues -- matching the Powers and the five ministers -- are benevolence (jen), knowledge (chih), faithfulness (hsin), righteousness (vi), and propriety (li). The Chief Minister may serve as one example from Tung's detailed analysis of each minister. He exalts faithfulness and is a representative embodiment of the virtuous activity expected in his role performance. By exalting faithfulness he subordinates himself and is humble in appearance; he arises at daybreak and retires late; he examines history to advise the ruler; he clearly sees possibilities for success and failure and delicately admonishes the ruler; and he prevents and eliminates errors in the government. Thus he serves his ruler with extreme loyalty and faithfulness.\footnote{Ibid., 13.4b-13.5b.}
It is clear from all this that Tung uses the Five Powers to sequentially arrange the high ministerial positions, and that the five virtues associated with those positions define precise role performance. We might well ask what the significance of this is, especially since only five ministerial positions are listed -- even these copy the Chou Dynasty -- and Tung elsewhere outlines a much larger ministerial structure. I suggest that Tung's analysis of Powers, positions, and virtuous roles is a general paradigm applicable not only to all ministerial positions, but to all the statuses of men. All men are in status relationships and all status define duties. The problem facing each individual is to learn what those duties are and how to fulfill them. This requires education -- proceeding from the ruler, to the ministers and, notably, to the people. The specific content of any one virtue depends upon the position and circumstances of the person performing the activity defined by it. Thus, Five Powers provide a conceptual framework that ties the virtues together and demonstrates how -- like the five ministers -- they support one another. After all, it is rather difficult to think of a person who genuinely refines one virtue yet neglects the other. Virtues support one another. Man does not perfect one, then begin refining another -- they develop and perfect

182 Ibid., 13.5a.

183 See Ch. 24, 7.9a-11b.
in concert. So do the five ministers and so do the Five Powers. There is individual interplay between individual entities, but the system transforms as a whole.

Tung, in a positive vein, explains the possibility of an interaction among statuses and their role performances that lead to order. In Chapter 59 he also raises the negative possibility of chaos. Each of the five ministers may deviate from the requirements of his position. For example, if the Minister of Agriculture is treacherous, he will confuse the ruler, dismiss the virtuous officers, destroy high ranking officials, instruct the people in extravagance, and discourage agricultural affairs. He will encourage gambling, cock fights, dog fights, horse races and elder and youth, high and low ranking people will disregard propriety. Ultimately he will be punished by the Minister of Education. Each of the other four ministers also has a unique list of potential errors and failures.

The complexity of even these five ministerial interactions is demonstrated by Tung's ideal system of discipline (in the sense of "overcoming," sheng). The sequential order of the five ministers assisting each other, based on the Five Powers, is not reversed in the ministerial role of disciplining another peer. Instead, Tung patterns his scheme of discipline (or punishment) after the cosmological characteristics of the Five Powers. Thus, wood

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184 CCFL, Ch. 59, 13.6a.
overcomes earth, fire overcomes metal, earth overcomes water, metal overcomes wood, and water overcomes fire. This is equivalent to the Minister of Agriculture disciplining the Chief Minister, the Minister of War disciplining the Minister of Education, the Chief Minister disciplining the Minister of Crime, the Minister of Education disciplining the Minister of Agriculture, and the Minister of Crime disciplining the Minister of War. This points out that no position in the hierarchy of statuses can be isolated from the web of relationships. The activity between statuses, furthermore, may constitute either virtuous assistance or disciplining punishment. The significance of this will become more evident as we see how Tung locks the ruler into this same scheme. To anticipate somewhat, the status of the ruler is not isolated. He requires, as part of the whole hierarchy of statuses, both assistance and discipline from more than one source and of more than one kind.

There is no reason to describe in detail the negative role performances chronicled in Chapter 59 beyond the example above. I submit, however, that the specific lists of non-virtuous activity found in this chapter take on meaning and significance if we consider them to be illustrative of categories of negative role behavior. In this light, each example serves as a warning to all men, regardless of status. Virtues explicitly prescribe and implicitly proscribe. Tung couples both the positive and
negative lists with examples from history. Indirectly he gives warning that what has happened in the past can happen again. No list of achievement or error can be exhaustive, but basic principles of positive or negative human actions conform or deviate from cosmic principles. The goal of man, whether ruler or common man, is to follow the correct way of action -- proper role performance -- indicated by the order and interaction of the Powers and Seasons. In the following section, I show how Tung ties role performance into the cosmologically based hierarchy of status relationships.

5.3 **THE FIVE POWERS, EARTH, AND RIGHTEOUSNESS**

The five virtues associated with the Powers in the preceding section were righteousness, knowledge, faithfulness, righteousness, and propriety. But what of filial piety (hsiao) and loyalty (chung)? One would think from the frequency of their occurrence in the text that Tung would have included them with the five virtues most closely associated with role performance. In this section I present reasons for these two virtues being treated in a manner different from the others.

First, we must recall the Five Powers and Four Seasons paradigm described so far. Heaven has the Five Powers. The Power of wood gives rise to spring which controls birth. Fire gives rise to summer which controls growth. Earth gives rise to the end of summer (when Yin begins to dominate
Yang) and controls nourishment. Metal gives rise to autumn and controls harvesting. Water gives rise to winter and controls storage. Thus, the growth cycle of the world of the 10,000 things is made understandable by the structural and functional paradigm of Powers and Seasons, based in turn upon the interaction of Yin and Yang. The paradigm provides a model for change in the world.

Tung uses the same paradigm to explain man's growth and development. Heaven's "affairs (shih) by which it benefits (li 羔) the people are without pause." The process of man's development, not surprisingly, is in five stages: birth, cultivation, nourishment, growth, and completion. The process is continuous, for it "ends and then begins again." Tung continues with an implicit parallel between the sequence of the Powers and of man's development:

Therefore, that which the father gives birth to, the son nourishes. That which fathers undertake, sons all receive and inherit, continue and act upon. They dare not refuse to carry out their fathers' intentions.... the father gives and the son receives. Therefore it is said, 'Filial piety (hsiao 父) is the rule (ching 理) of Heaven.'

Admittedly, this seems cryptic and opaque, but an amplification of the same theme occurs in Chapter 42. Tung again states that Heaven has the Five Powers, indicating

185 CCFL, Ch. 37, 10.7b.
186 Here "cultivation," 吳, refers to early child rearing.
187 CCFL, Ch. 37, 10.7b.
188 CCFL, Ch. 38, 10.8a.
that earth is the center of their necessary sequence. At the conclusion of this he adds, "This is their relationship of father and son." Further, he repeats that the Five Powers are arranged in the cardinal directions -- with earth in the center -- because "These are their order according to their father and son relationships." Those who give are all like fathers; those who receive are all like sons. A constant principle of the Way of Heaven is that "fathers order (shih 使) sons." Tung continues, "Earth in serving Heaven exhausts its loyalty (chung). Therefore, the Five Powers have the activity [function] of filial sons and loyal ministers."

Given this amplification of the earlier passage, we now can derive certain implications. First, sons, if they are filial, assist and support fathers. This activity follows the cosmological pattern of the mutual assistance of the Five Powers and also fits into the pattern of our earlier discussion (Chapter III) concerning the necessary assistance Yin provides to Yang. The son serves the father, and earth, the central and most honored of the Powers, serves Heaven. Earth's service of Heaven is the natural, cosmic model for man's filial piety and loyalty. The correlation between cosmic activity and man's actions is reinforced by the repeated use of the term hsing 行, as in the last quotation above: "The Five Powers (wu-hsing) thus have the activity

\[189 \text{CCPL, Ch. 42, 11.2a-b.}\]
(hsing) of filial sons and loyal ministers." This stresses the functional correspondence of activity in both cosmos and man.

Second, this analysis of earth as the key representative of filial piety and loyalty gives substantive support to the necessary hierarchical order of statuses -- both ascribed and achieved -- which may be represented by the "Three Bonds."

5.3.1 The Three Bonds

The "Three Bonds" (san-kang), those between ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife, are models for all the human relationships. The importance of these bonds is reinforced by tying them in with earth, "the most honored of the Five Powers." Earth serves Heaven with loyalty, and loyalty (chung) is the key virtue of the ruler-minister relationship. All the Powers -- with earth as the central one -- have the activity of filial sons, and filial piety (hsiao) is the key virtue of the father-son relationship.

But what of the third bond, that of husband and wife? Recall the alignment of the Five Powers with five virtues given in Chapter 58 (previous section above). The Chief Minister is matched with earth and he exalts faithfulness.\footnote{CCFI, Ch. 58, 13.5a.} Faithfulness (hsin) is the key virtue of
the husband-wife relationship. Thus the Chief Minister, who is the preeminent minister, like earth, which is the most honored power, is matched with "faithfulness." Faithfulness, therefore, is the most emphasized of the five virtues and links them with the virtues of the "Three Bonds." We now have a close-knit cosmological basis for the preeminent virtues — loyalty, filial piety, and faithfulness — found in the most important and most representative human relationships. Note, further, that now the status hierarchy is reinforced in two ways, because filial piety governs an ascribed status, while loyalty and faithfulness govern achieved statuses. If this analysis of Tung's scheme is correct, then we can conclude that the subordinate-superior hierarchy of man is based upon principles of relationships found in the cosmological order of Yin and Yang, of the Five Powers, and of the Four Seasons. All of these require subordinates to assist and support superiors. If they do, there is order; if they fail, there is chaos.

Tung gives a more explicit generalization of the idea that all subordinates must support superiors in Chapter 42. He states that a son who receives and completes what is given by his father correlates with the mutual assistance of the Five Powers. Furthermore, "Serving the ruler is like earth respecting (Ch'ing 天) Heaven." Those who serve the...

191 See CCEL, Ch. 6, 4.8b.
ruler "can be called [correct] men of action." Thus the exemplary action of earth in the macrocosmic sphere and of the subordinates in the microcosmic "Three Bonds," serve as models for all the subordinates of the ruler -- the people. All of the ruler's subjects fall into the web of human relationships, and those relationships have an ideal order, just as "in the succession of the Five Powers, each is in accord with its order." The key virtues of the "Three Bonds" and those virtues matched with the Five Powers all define ideal role performance. These virtues govern different capabilities.

5.3.2 Differentiated Role Performance

The support given by subordinates to superiors is differentiated by status and role. Statuses require different duties. Therefore, different role performance is expected of different people. This too has a cosmological basis, for not only do the Five Powers accord with a certain order, but also "In the offices (kuan) of the Five Powers, each fulfills its function (meng)." The term kuan, "offices," is the same term translated as "ministers" above in Chapter 58 and 59. This again indicates the close

192 CCFL, Ch. 42, 11.2b.
193 Ibid.
194 Ibid.
195 Ibid.
correlation between the Powers and positions in human statuses. Neng, translated as "function" or "capability," adds further depth to this paradigm by showing that not only is there an ideal order for discrete entities but also there are ideal functions for each of them. These functions require unique skills. "In employing (shih 使) men, one must accord with their order, and in appointing (kuan 官) men one must accord with their abilities. This is the plan (shuy) of Heaven." Consequently, Five Powers have differentiated duties and so do men. "Duties" correctly applies here because Tung uses two terms, chien and chih, to express the correlation of the "offices" of the Power and man:

The reason there are Five Powers but only Four seasons is that earth unites them (t'iu-chier-chih 土兼之). Although metal, wood, water, and fire each has its duty (chih), their not being able to stand without earth is like sour, salty, acrid, and bitter not being complete without the sweet. Sweetness is the foundation of the five flavors; earth is the manager of the Five Powers. The Five Powers taking the ch'i of earth as their manager is like the five flavors being complemented with sweetness. In Chapter III we saw how all things have their correlative entities and that each pair unites its activity with the other, patterned after the interaction of Yin and Yang. Earth unites the structural-functional paradigms of the Power and Seasons and, as the central and most important of

196 Ibid.
197 Ibid., 11.3a.
the Powers, is their model for subordinating the functions of their offices to Heaven. "Earth dwells in the center for Heaven's benefit. Earth is the 'arms and legs' of Heaven." The functions of the Powers and man are analogically correlated, for the ministers are the 'arms and legs' of the ruler. The ruler gives commands and his functionaries -- the ministers -- carry them out. "Functions" are roles and "offices" are statuses, according to the general paradigm I suggested in Chapter III. Differentiated role performance fits rather neatly into that paradigm.

A question that arises at this point concerns reciprocity. Is Tung's hierarchy of statuses designed only to order and to control support for superiors, especially the ruler? Or is there a required sequence of duties extending from superiors to subordinates? The following section addresses these questions.

5.4 THE RIGHTEOUSNESS AND BENEFICENCE OF MAN

We have seen how the structural correlation and functional unity between the cosmos and man leads to order (chih), with subordinates properly serving superiors. To determine whether or not superiors need serve subordinates, we first must return to the discussion of the rectification of names (Chapter II). We saw that all "titles" for things

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198 Ibid., 11.2b.
were paired, or had correlative entities. For example, there are things that are black and white, fathers and sons, left and right. "Names" are definitions; they make discriminations among things. When, for example, Tung discusses the virtues of benevolence (jen) and righteousness (yi), he seeks a rectification of names. The names "benevolence" and "righteousness" are definitions of expected actions. These terms are different and need to be "differentiated" (pieh ò) clearly so that man's activity conforms to correct role performance in line with the virtues. 199

Unfortunately most people do not investigate the correct definitions of virtues. For example, they semantically employ "benevolence" as a term that refers to themselves, and use "righteousness" as a term referring to others. This switches the content of their appropriate definitions and "departs from their principles" so the people are seldom without disorder. 200 Now no people desire disorder (luan), but at most times they are in constant disorder because of their inability to differentiate between the proper "names," (that is, definitions), such as those for benevolence and righteousness. 201

199 CCFL, Ch. 29, 8.7a.
200 Ibid.
201 Ibid.
Having stated the necessity for correct definitions, Tung singles out benevolence and righteousness for particular attention because they represent the reason man is separate from the rest of the 10,000 things, of which "Only man is able to become benevolent and righteous." Tung's definition for benevolence is "loving others" (ai-ten 爱人). His definition of righteousness is "rectification of oneself" (cheng-o 正我). According to the Spring and Autumn Annals, benevolence and righteousness order (chih) the people and individuals. The people are made peaceful (an 安) through benevolence and individuals are rectified (cheng) by righteousness. These terms require closer scrutiny.

5.4.1 Righteousness

Righteousness, Tung stresses, correctly refers to the individual. He states that "righteousness" can be even better understood if we look at the written form of the term and listen to its sound." "Righteousness" (yi 義) includes "I" or "self (o 我) in its construction. The pronunciation (yi) is homonymous with yi 宜, which means "proper,"

202 CCFL, Ch. 56, 13.1b.
203 CCFL, Ca. 29, 8.7b. "Benevolence is the name for loving others." jen-che-ai-ten-chih-ming-veh 仁者愛人之名也.
204 Ibid., 8.7a.
205 Ibid.
"fitting," or "good." Consequently, "righteousness" has a fitting "name" both in form and sound. Tung says, "Therefore, the term 'righteousness' correlates (ho) 'oneself' and 'proper' to make one term."

Besides defining yi as the "rectification of the self," Tung also defines the concept as "propriety within the self" (yi-tsa-i-o 宜在我). These definitions have considerable importance for Tung's political philosophy. The rectification of the self refers to a developed, inner sense of correctness. That inner sense is a result of internalizing the li 礼 which comprise the social rules of propriety. The li, when internalized, become "propriety within the self." This clearly indicates that the inner sense of correctness arises from external socialization. This is quite in line with Tung's theory of education.

But there is an important implication of this analysis of the term. The content of the "propriety within the self" is an inner sense of duty. We have already seen (Chapter IV) how duties (such as the chih 職 of a minister) define role performance within the social status hierarchy, but this is the external sense of duties. They are defined and regulated in a social context. Tung's definition of yi, on the other hand, shows how external habituation in the duties of one's place give rise to an internal recognition of why these duties should be performed.

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206 Ibid., 8.8t.
He states that if man carries out an action that is righteous, this is "self-attainment" (tzu-te 自德). This means that the individual man has performed an action not strictly through habit, but because of an inner sense of its propriety. Righteousness therefore complements the social rules of propriety (li). The latter indicate how man correctly performs duties within the social milieu. Righteousness, on the other hand, indicates the attitude of mind toward those duties. Tung's definition of the term indicates that the inner sense arise from external activity. However, as righteousness increases, it also becomes more creative. Man becomes "fond of righteousness" (hao-yi 好義) which means that he seeks to expand it. The expansion not only is self-attainment of a more moral inner sense, but also is expression of moral social action. Therefore, righteousness reinforces the social rules of propriety, and vice-versa. Man seeks to fulfill his inner sense of duty through self-generated external actions. Thereby, he can creatively act in the social environment and not just respond to it. If I have interpreted Tung correctly on this point, then his definition of benevolence (jen) as "loving others" can be seen to complement righteousness in an important way.

207 Ibid.
208 Ibid.
5.4.2 Benevolence

Benevolence is outward-directed -- it prescribes love for others. How far love extends from oneself is a gauge of its quality. The more distant the genuine love, the more virtuous the person who is its source.

Therefore, the love of a [true] king extends to the four barbarian tribes.\(^\text{209}\) The love of a feudal lord extends to the nobles. The love of those at peace reach to those within their fiefs. The love of those in danger reach to those beside them. The love of those who perish reach only to themselves.\(^\text{210}\)

The ruler cannot isolate himself from others. If his benevolence, his love for the people, is absent, personal disaster results. Tung is rather explicit in placing blame for personal disaster on the ruler himself. Therefore, one who is "concerned only about himself, although he is established in the position of Son of Heaven" or if he is in the position as

... one of the nobles, each is only one man and does not have the assistance of the people or ministers. Those who are like this are not destroyed, but they destroy themselves.\(^\text{211}\)

This is a forceful statement, and a direct warning to the ruler that absence of love for his subordinates will result in disaster.

\(^\text{209}\) This is equivalent to saying "to the four corners of the empire."

\(^\text{210}\) CCPL, Ch. 29, 8.8a.

\(^\text{211}\) Ibid.
Benevolence is the social side of righteousness. It is a qualitatively superior moral sense that flows from a correct inner sense of propriety. Benevolence is the outward expression of love that suffuses the performance of li. The ideal performance of li therefore entails both righteousness and benevolence. They interact to form and express a man’s good character.

Benevolence and righteousness cannot be considered in isolation from each other. Both contribute to the formation of the internal character that gives rise to good actions, and good actions, of course, serve to reinforce good character. Tung’s definition of these terms indicates that the ruler must develop and exhibit these virtues to succeed in developing himself, to save himself from an isolated, ignominious end, and to serve as a model of these virtues for the people. Therefore benevolence not only is a priority virtue of superiors by which they govern their role performance toward subordinates, but more importantly, the ruler’s development of yi and jen is a model for what all people must do to become good. Further, yi and jen illustrate the mutually reinforcing aspects of habituation that lie at the heart of socialization. The ruler — and the people — must develop both their internal sense of propriety (yi) as well as their external performance of actions following the rules of propriety (li).
So far we have seen that these are indeed cosmological bases for roles and virtues, but these paradigms also can serve as structural and functional models for explaining the emotional contents of man's activity. This is the subject of the following section.

5.5 CH'ING IN HEAVEN AND MAN

The basic "stuff" of the universe is ch'i, the dynamic, vital forces that are manifested in the forces of Yin and Yang, the Four Seasons, and the Five Powers. The "ch'i of Yin and Yang constantly permeates man," Tung states, "just as water constantly permeates fish."212 This is a colorful comparison for several reasons. First, a fish is influenced by currents, the motion of water, just as man is influenced by the movement of the various manifestations of ch'i. Second, the purity of water influences the quality of fish life, just as the purity of ch'i -- meaning its proper order -- influences the quality of man's life. Finally, the term for "permeate," chien (or tsien, both read with the first tone), also means to imbue or to soak, as in dyeing fabric. Thus, man's actions, purity (i.e. orderly virtue), and appearance all depend upon ch'i. Ch'i is subtle and difficult to understand. It is different from water in that ch'i cannot be seen; comparing ch'i with water is like comparing water to mud. However, ch'i, like water, is

212 Ch. 80, 17.6b; see Su Yu, CCPLYC, Ch. 81, 17.7b.
without gaps in the sphere of Heaven, earth, and man.\(^{213}\) It
gives rise to change in all things.

Within the natural world the ever-changing \(\text{ch'i}\) is
observable in the cycle of the seasons. Tung frequently
compares the activity of the Four Seasons (ssu-shih) with
the emotions of man. "The \(\text{ch'i}\) of \(\text{Yin}\) and \(\text{Yang}\) are in
Heaven and also in man. In man [\(\text{Yin}\) and \(\text{Yang}\)] give rise to
love and hate, joy and anger, while in Heaven [they] give
rise to warmth and coolness, hot and cold.\(^{214}\) The seasonal
part of the analogy refers either to the dominant
temperatures of the seasons, as above, or refers to them in
calendar sequence, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. The
whole range of man's emotions normally are grouped as above,
or -- most frequently -- as joy, anger, grief, and happiness
\(\text{hsi-nu-ai-le 喜怒哀樂}\). In the text "joy and anger"
sometimes are listed with these four and occasionally
replace the first two. Important implications flow from the
analogy between the seasons and the emotions.

\(^{213}\) \textit{Ibid.}, Ch. 30, 17.6b-7a; \textit{Su Yi}, CCPYC, Ch. 31,
17.7b-8a.

\(^{214}\) CCPY, Ch. 80, 17.5a. See also 17.6a: "Man having joy,
ger, grief, and happiness is like Heaven having
spring, summer, autumn, and winter."
5.5.1 Movement and Change

The nature of ch'i is by definition dynamic. Though it may seem a commonplace to say that the universe — suffused as it is by ch'i — is constantly in change, there seems to be good reason for Tung's repetition of the theme of movement (tung 動), of dynamism. He states that in the activity of Heaven "never has anything been detained or stagnated, [and] as for man, he also should act and not stagnate, like the regular order of the Four Seasons." The ideal goals for man and the universe must be dynamic. Harmony (bo 和), for example, is one of the goals of man and cosmos, and it must not be thought of as a static "equilibrium." Harmony instead is smooth interaction of correlative entities in accord with ideal principles. As we shall see, this dynamic interpretation of man's goals influences the definitions of other key terms in Tung's thought. Movement characterizes Heaven, earth, and man. But movement must follow a basic principle.

Yin and Yang are entities, which are so related that when one waxes the other wanes.

The constant Way of Heaven is that two opposite things cannot arise simultaneously.... Yin and Yang are mutually opposing things. Therefore, one of them will arise while the other withdraws.... They act together but have different paths. 215

215 CcFl, Ch. 80, 17.5b.
216 CcFl, Ch. 51, 12.3b.
Ving is dominant in fall and winter, and Yang is dominant in spring and summer. But each season has both forces operating in it. For example, in early autumn, Ving just begins to dominate over Yang, while in early spring Yang begins to supercede Ving. The two forces are in dynamic tension with each other, but they comply with the principle that when one rises the other falls. This is true as well of man's emotions. He cannot, for example, love and hate or have grief and happiness simultaneously. This seemingly simple principle has important ramifications.

5.5.2 Chaos and order

Tung identifies the polar extremes of personal and political change: chaos (lun) and order (chih). Man — and society — tend toward one or the other. If there is total chaos, then the nadir of personal and political activity has been reached. Tung presents a vivid view of this possibility in Chapter 6.217 In the political realm, Chieh and Chou, the evil kings of antiquity, represent the archetypical chaotic rulers. Tung's review of their behavior is instructive: they were arrogant, wanton, and extravagant; loved gaudy decorations and clothing; exhausted natural resources; ate exotic foods; robbed the food and property of the people; coveted highly ornamented carvings and sculpture; exhausted for their own satisfaction the

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217 CCFI, Ch. 6, 4.1a-9b.
craftsmen working in metal, jade, bone, and ivory; used heavy punishments and eagerly executed people to oppress their subordinates; listened to lewd and erotic music; and rewarded obsequious courtiers and gave in to slanderous ministers. The people suffered without end. While the ruler stored mountains of rice and filled ponds with wine, orphans and the impoverished starved. "They put to death the sagely and virtuous and cut out their hearts. They roasted men alive and savored the odor. They split open pregnant women to see the fetuses."218

The list of heinous crimes continues at length. Because of the chaos at the top of the social-political hierarchy, the lower levels followed suit. Ministers dared not be loyal, for true loyalty meant criticizing error, and that would lead to execution. Nobles and great ministers usurped the ruler's power through military strength and magistrates usurped power in the cities. The regulations, codes, laws, and rules of propriety (li) could not be carried out. Ministers assassinated rulers, sons murdered fathers, concubines' sons killed legitimate heirs. Governmental administration was impossible. The strong dominated the weak; the many tyrannized the few; the rich abused the impoverished. Ministers usurped the power of their superiors and inauspicious natural signs appeared.219 As the

218 Ibid., 4.1b-2a.
219 Ibid., 4.2a-b.
list of depravity continues one cannot but be reminded of chaos described in Thucydides' third chapter of the Peloponnesian War.

Tung, also in Chapter 6 matches his detailed description of chaos with a description of an ideal order. It is significant in the case of both chaos and order that they proceed from the character and actions of the ruler. "If the king is upright (or correct, cheng), then the original ch'i is in harmony (ho) and compliant (shun)." Conversely, if the king is not upright, then the ch'i is corrupted. The models for ideal rule are the noble rulers and kings of antiquity. Tung's list of priorities for ideal rule is no surprise.

The early rulers and kings educated (chiao) the people with love; ordered them with loyalty; encouraged respect of the elderly and the aged; were filial to the family; exalted the respectable; did not overwork the people; ensured each household had basic necessities; caused the

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220 I was tempted to call this a "utopian tract," but there is a significant distinction between Tung's "ideal order" and traditional views of utopia from Sir Thomas More to the present. "Utopias" are by definition unattainable ideals. They are intellectual models upon which societies may seek to pattern themselves. Tung, on the other hand, believes that the ideal order in fact existed in antiquity. Thus the principles for order are not abstract speculations, but are derived from concrete, historical experience. Although man cannot return to the past situation of history, Tung insists that the principles that gave rise to ideal order in the past are applicable and necessary to the present.

221 CCFI, Ch. 6, 4.1a. "Compliant" here means "compliant with the way of Heaven."
people to be without troubles of resentment, longings, fury, and inequalities of strength and weakness; and cleansed the court of flattering and jealous people. As a result, the people cultivated their virtues, refined their preferences, did not envy the rich or exalted, and were ashamed and unwilling to be wicked. The jails and prisons were empty, and the people wore clothing appropriate to their position. Families were not torn by required corvee labor or military servitude and the people were not stung by poisonous insects or mauled by ferocious animals. Heaven sent down sweet dew, lush grass grew, fountains of wine flowed, winds and rains were timely, grains had multiple heads, and auspicious natural signs appeared. Later in this chapter, Tung describes more specific activities required of the dutiful ruler, including sacrifices to Heaven and earth, sacrifices to ancestors and the early noble emperors, and ceremonious ordering and enfeoffing of the nobles.

What lies at the foundation of either order of chaos, it must be remembered, is the proper -- or improper -- ordering of Yin and Yang as expressed in the activity of man and cosmos. Yin and Yang suffuse the Four Seasons and if they wax and wane properly, then the Yang of summer will not wax to the extent where drought and famine occur, nor will the

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222 Ibid., 4.1a.
223 Ibid., 4.1a-b.
224 See Ibid., 4.4a-6a.
Yin of winter wax to the degree where harsh blizzards freeze the people. In man, the Yang of joy and the Yin of anger also may reach excessive intensity. Therefore, it is necessary to balance the forces correctly. Both Yin and Yang require harmonization. Order is not characterized by the sole dominance of Yang, nor is chaos the result only of Yin. Instead, both need to be regulated. An important regulatory feature of both the seasons and the emotions is timeliness.

5.5.3 Timeliness

Man and Heaven are both dynamic. When man's nature -- his character -- is perfected, then the negative and positive emotions, which correspond to forces of Yin and Yang, continue to wax and wane. But they do so at correct times. Just as there are appropriate times for the rise of spring or autumn, so in man there are appropriate times for the manifestation of grief or pleasure. To know the proper times requires education. Man finds himself in different situations at different times and these require different emotional responses. Emotions are easy to express, but difficult to express at the correct time and, it must be added, at the appropriate intensity. Sometimes greater intensity may be required than others, even though the situations may be similar in form. A good example of this
is mourning.

Different degrees of intensity are expected when a man mourns the death of his sister and his father. Not to observe the rules of propriety covering dress, appearance, and duration of the mourning period would be to deviate from expected activity. The point of this discussion is that erroneous priorities upset the harmony of Yin and Yang. If the ruler is in error, as we saw in the analysis of the chaotic and ordered society, then his subordinates are likely to follow suit. Emotions need to be controlled by man's mind just as the seasons are optimally ordered by Heaven. Thus, "the restriction and movement of joy, anger, grief, and happiness are given by Heaven to man for his nature and life (hsing-sing)."

It is no easy task to still or activate emotions at the proper time, for this involves knowing the facts of the situation and of one's relationship to it. Facts can be obscured by ignorance and relationships can be difficult to ascertain. Further, common experience informs us of how difficult it is to control emotional outbursts in volatile situations. Self-control requires not only intelligent discrimination of facts, but also a high level of personal discipline. Both require education and habituation from

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225 See, for example, Ch. 67, 15.1a-3a. Here Tung describes the seriousness of family mourning in conjunction with the imperial chia sacrifice.

226 CCFL, Ch. 60, 17.5b.
family, social, and political sources.

Tung indicates that there are principles underlying the timeliness of both emotions and seasons, and that the two realms -- nature and man -- have corresponding activity.

Joy and anger correspond to heat and cold. Dignity and virtue correspond to winter and summer. Winter and summer [therefore] are correlatives of dignity and virtue. Cold and heat match (yin 厳) joy and anger. Happiness and anger have appropriate times to be expressed; winter and summer also have appropriate times to be manifested. The principle is the same.²²⁷

Tung couples this timeliness of emotions with "proper place" (chih-ch' u 真處),²²⁸ which seems to indicate that knowledge of the activities proper to the human relationships (jen-lun) is essential to timely application of any emotion. This requires skills of differentiation among statuses, which illustrates, for example, the need for clothing regulations and sumptuary laws that assist man to discern statuses in the course of social activity.

5.6 NOURISHMENT OF MIND AND BODY

If man has a purposeful life, this means his character must develop from an unrefined to a refined state. To achieve this, both the body and mind must be nourished (yang 養). Man requires the basic physical necessities of food, clothing, shelter, and sexual activity in the proper proportions to survive. Confucius said to one of his students:

²²⁷ CCEL, Ch. 79, 17.4b-5a.
²²⁸ Ibid., 17.5a.
followers that "In ordering the people, one must first enrich them, and then one can initiate education." People cannot be expected to develop the virtues if they have no food or clothing. The ruler must ensure that the people have the essentials of life.

But survival is not perfection. Perfection requires change, transformation, and refinement. This is achieved through education which develops correct habits of mind and correct actions that follow from the guidance of one's mind. The correct state of mind is called righteousness (義). The correct performance of actions is called benevolence (仁). Both are virtues that must be learned from external forces of socialization; they are not natural capabilities. The two virtues are supplemented by profit (利), which is subordinate to the virtues of the mind, yet necessary to it because it gives sustenance to the body.

Heaver, in giving birth to man, expects him to initiate righteousness and profit. He uses this profit to nourish his body; he uses his righteousness to nourish his mind. If the mind does not attain righteousness then it cannot be happy. If the body does not receive profit then it cannot be tranquil. Righteousness is the nourishment of the mind. Profit is the nourishment of the body. In the body, nothing is more noble than the mind. Thus, in terms of nourishment, nothing is more important than righteousness. The nourishment of righteousness is more important to the living person than profit.230

229 CCEL, Ch. 29, 3.9a.
230 CCEL, Ch. 31, 9.1a.
Man's ascribed duties from Heaven's *ming* include personal, physical maintenance. The successful refinement of role performance dictated by status requires personal health and welfare. But these are subordinate to the greater goal of goodness. Unfortunately, people emphasize the wrong aspects of their lives. They emphasize physical necessities and neglect their minds, which leads to injury, grief, chaos, and disaster. This has always been a problem for man.

Man's desires, as we have seen, tend to be unlimited. This is one reason for the limitations placed on desires by the hierarchy of statuses. No matter what a man's roles may be, he can achieve self-respect and happiness within his status if he refines his virtues.

How do we know this? Now a man who has outstanding righteousness but who is very much without profit, although he be poor and in a low status, he can still glorify his conduct for his own self-respect and make his life happy. ... A man who really has a profit but is very much without righteousness, although he be very rich, he is none the less able to experience shame, disgrace, and great evil.²³¹

The man who misperceives his correct roles and status brings harm not only to himself, but also to others with whom he has relationships. Bringing relationships to an incorrect or chaotic state through emphasizing profit over virtues causes general social disruption that may extend throughout the empire. The ruler is continually challenged to ensure virtues are emphasized instead of profit, for all the people

"forget righteousness and pursue profit, abandon reason and take the path of depravity, and bring injuries on themselves and calamities on their families."\textsuperscript{232}

People are unable to set correct priorities themselves. They need to be socialized to recognize that it is better to be righteous than rich. The common man desires wealth and health rather than virtues. Tung compares this view with the desires of untrained infants and unschooled barbarians. Neither view can differentiate the important from the trivial.

Now if you grasp a date and a carved golden object and offer them to an infant, he will certainly take the date and not take the golden object. If one grasp one jin of gold and thousands of pearls to offer to a barbarian, he will certainly take the gold and not take the pearls. Therefore, with regard to things in terms of their relations to man, those which are of small importance are easy to understand, while those of greater importance are difficult to see.\textsuperscript{233}

Profit therefore seems more important to man. This is why his nature is considered "unawakened" and his life in need of purpose. The rulers of Tung's time, like the ancient Sages and early kings, also have to instruct the people. For this reason the recorded activities of the ancients are relevant models for contemporary rulers. The specific situations and environment of the empire have changed, but the underlying principles and norms that govern the correct way of man and Heaven are constant. The contemporary ruler \textsuperscript{------------------------}

\textsuperscript{232} Ibid., 9.1b.

\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
can learn from the past and apply that knowledge to the present, thereby transforming the customary actions of the people. Once the people are properly habituated, they will act correctly of their own accord, that is "naturally" (tszu-\text{-}jan 自然).

5.6.1 Emotions and Habituation

Emotions are an essential aspect of one's character, but for one to have a refined character, the emotions must be regulated. The source of regulation in the first instance comes from the outside, from the education of the ruler. The ruler in turn bases his activity as a personal model and guide for the people, upon the norms found in the cosmological principles that constitute the Way of Heaven.

Emotions take time to regulate. They are changing, transitory events which only gradually can be molded into proper habits in compliance with the Way of Heaven. The nature of man is not readily changed by the rapid variations which characterize emotions.\(^{23}\) Instead, his nature is changed gradually by the formation of habits which assist in regulating the transitory emotions.

\begin{quote}
Nature is like a spirit in not preserving [its original form]. By gathering habits (chi-hsi 精) it gradually is influenced -- this is the subtlety of things.\(^{235}\)
\end{quote}

\(^{23}\) CCEL, Ch. 82, 17.9b.

\(^{235}\) Ibid.
Man's process of habituation involves slowly gathering habits and integrating them into the activity of the mind and body. He then forgets that his actions are in fact governed by habitual ways of doing things.\textsuperscript{236} This is a process of gradual self-discipline through learning how to regulate the self from external sources. The goal of habituation is social:

If one restrains desires and conforms to [correct] behavior (shun-hsing 順行), then one's proper relationships [with others] are attained (Lun-te 倫得).\textsuperscript{237}

Once the people follow the intentions of the ruler without having to be forced, they understand the requirements of their statuses and act correctly in their roles. Habituation occurs in the ascribed status of family as well as in the whole range of achieved statuses. This results in part from good role models.

The ruler has primary responsibility for nurturing the people. This is his primary duty in his status charged by the Mandate of Heaven. The people, because of the nature and life they have received from Heaven, are necessarily linked to the political realm. They require external guidance. Personal development is tied to political development. The development process for man is from unformed nature to refined nature. His goal is perfection (ch'eng 成), attainment (te 得), and virtue (te 德). All

\textsuperscript{236} Ird.

\textsuperscript{237} Ird.
of these, as we shall see, are dynamic states of character. The goal for the political realm is order (shih 聖), harmony (ho 和), and correctness (cheng 正). These too are dynamic concepts. The perfection of both personal and public realms can result only from man being correctly attuned with Heaven and Earth. The macrocosmic principles of Yin and Yang, the Four Seasons, and the Five Powers operate as well in the microcosm of man. The ruler is the nexus between cosmos and man. He is the model and guide for man's perfection and, furthermore, he helps bring the cosmos to ideal order. The next chapter focuses on the ruler's nurture of man and society in correlation with constant cosmological principles.
Chapter VI

THE NURTURE OF MAN AND SOCIETY

We have seen that man is comprised of the vital forces (ch’i) of Yin and Yang which animate his actions. His nature, or character, can become good or bad through repeated actions of one sort or another, for these actions eventually become habitual behavior. Habitual behavior can be influenced by education (chiao). Thus, man’s character can be changed (pian), cultivated (yang), and transformed (hua) through education. If correctly educated, man can develop goodness (hsien) and refinement (wen), which if fully achieved (te) means his ultimate perfection (ch’eng).

If perfected, man performs benevolent (jen) actions, with a righteous state of mind (yi), in the correct relationships (jun), at the correct time (shih). The content of the perfected man’s actions is called the ideal way of man (jen-tao), which is historically illustrated by the perfected actions of the ancient Sages (shan-tao) also called the good Former Kings (hsien-wang). Their perfected actions conformed (shun) to the ideal cosmic norm, the Way of Heaven (t’ien-tao).

Man achieves perfection only if he follows the ideal or norm, the Way of Heaven. The concept “Way of Heaven” is
used in two senses First, it refers to the general, orderly processes of the universe that follow certain basic principles. Activity of Yin and Yang, the Five Powers, and the Four Seasons arise because the cosmos is constantly animated by the vital forces. The vital forces of Yin and Yang, for example, are complementary yet opposing positive and negative forces that must adhere to a basic principle of Heaven: opposing things cannot arise simultaneously. When Yin or Yang is becoming more active, the other is becoming more dormant. Second, the Way of Heaven refers to norms for the perfected activity of these orderly processes. There are proper times and intensities for the waxing and waning of the Four Seasons, and there is a certain order for the Five Powers. Timing, intensity, and order are not of themselves perfected even in the universe. There needs to be fine-tuning and assistance undertaken by man.

Heaven's Way is comprised of cosmic activity (hsing 行 ). This activity is constrained and regulated by various principles. The universe includes earth and the myriad things upon it. Man is a unique part of the myriad things and is imperfect. Perfection of man is possible, however, if he learns to follow the principles of action exemplified by the learned Sage-rulers of antiquity. These exceptional men in their time understood the workings of Heaven and earth and further understood how man, in tandem with Heaven, could bring about perfection in the social and political
realm through ensuring that the way of man is in full conformity with the ideal way of Heaven. If man achieves the ideal way by conforming to the norms of Heaven expressed by the Way of Heaven, then through the collective, perfected activities of man the social and political realms and the universe as a whole are perfected. Theoretically, this is possible; practically, it is a goal for man's actions.

Man, because his nature is originally only potentially good, needs a model for good actions and requires assistance in transforming his actions to agree with that model. These are provided by the ruler, whose duty as Son of Heaven is toward educate the people to goodness. If the ruler fulfills this duty, the people will be nourished and refined; they will be nurtured toward perfection.

In this chapter I seek to analyze the content of the ruler's "education to goodness." By doing so, the coherence of Tung's system becomes even clearer because once again cosmological theory provides guidance for the ruler's actions. Tung's discussions concerning the duties of ruling frequently mention the functions of the ministers as well, for the interplay between ruler and ministers is an essential ingredient for successful education of the people. In addition, I seek to explain how the ministers are necessary for the ruler's proper fulfillment of his duties to Heaven.
6.1  **HEAVEN AND RULER AS FUNCTIONAL CORRELATIVES**

Heaven, earth, and man are the three major components of the universe and the ruler is their nexus.²³⁸ He unites and directs the manifestations of ch'í found in the three toward perfection. To ensure that the people follow him as loyal subjects, he must succeed in both understanding and implementing the ideal principles of Heaven. He must act at the proper times to perfect the people.²³⁹ This is achieved by patterning his ruling activity after Heaven's activity. If he follows the Mandate of Heaven, then the people will follow him, his political affairs will accord with the constant principles, his laws will be ordered in agreement with the Tao, and his benevolence will follow from a correct will.²⁴⁰ Just as Heaven "has inexhaustable and boundless benevolence" as it bestows birth and nourishment upon the people, so is the ruler expected, after receiving the Mandate, to take the benevolence of Heaven and extend it to the people.

Heaven has "intentions" (yi), "affairs" (shih), and practical "instruments" (yung 用 ) of change. Its purpose or intentions are to love (ai) and benefit (li 利 ) the people. Its affairs include nourishment (yang) and growth (chang) of man and the 10,000 things of the world, and it

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²³⁸ **CCFL**, Ch. 44, 11.5a.
uses the changes of the Four Seasons constantly to carry out its affairs and accomplishments (kung).  

The ideal ruler also has "intentions," "affairs," and practical "instruments" of change. His purpose is to love and benefit the world (t'ien-hsia), and his affairs involve the provision of peace and happiness to his subjects. He achieves the ability to modulate the four emotions. "The ruler controls his love, hate, joy, and anger (hao, q, hsi, yu) just as Heaven does spring, summer, autumn, and winter." Both Heaven and the ruler can manifest warmth, coolness, coldness, and heat and "use [their] changing transformations in accomplishing perfection."  

Timeliness is important. If Heaven gives rise to the Four Seasons "at the right times, then the year is a good one; if at the wrong times, the year is bad." Likewise, if the ruler manifests the emotions in accord with righteousness (yi), then "the world is ordered; if he is not in accord with righteousness, the world is chaotic."  

Righteousness, defined earlier, is a rectification of the self. The self includes the mind, and the mind, which

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2.1 Ibid.  
2.2 Ibid., 11.6a.  
2.3 Ibid. The phrase yi-hsien-hua-ch'eng-kung 以變化成功 could be translated "use change, transformation, perfection, and accomplishments," but this makes the terms abstract rather than concrete references to the results of emotions and seasons.  
2.4 Ibid. The term shih 世, translated as "world" could also be rendered "age" with no great change in meaning.
governs man's ch'i, gives rise to emotions. Heaven's ch'i is manifested in the seasons. "Therefore, an ordered world and good year are the same principle; a disordered world and a bad year also are the same principle."²⁵ Thus, there is a cosmological basis for the employment of the ruler's emotions.

The equivalence between the emotions of the ruler and the "emotions" Heaven manifested in the seasons can be summarized as follows: (1) the ch'i of joy (hsi) is warmth (guan) and it is equal to spring; the ch'i of spring is love (ai) and through love they (Heaven and the ruler) give birth (sheng) to things. (2) The ch'i of anger (nu) is coolness (ching 清) and it is equal to autumn; the ch'i of autumn is severity (yen 嚴) and through severity they perfect their achievements. (3) The ch'i of pleasure (le) is the greater Yang (t'ai-yang 太陽) and it is equal to summer; the ch'i of summer is pleasure and through pleasure they nourish (yang) those who are born. (4) The ch'i of sorrow (ai) is the greater Yin (t'ai-yin 太陰) and it is equal to winter; the ch'i of winter is sorrow and through sorrow they mourn those whose lives have ended.²⁶ These four manifestations of ch'i are common to both Heaven and man. Tung emphasizes these common manifestations of ch'i in another manner when he states

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ CCPL, Ch. 43, 11.4a-b; see Su Yü, CCFLYC, Ch. 44, 11.10b-11a.
Therefore I [Tung] say that Heaven not only having the activity (hsing) of joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure, but also man having the ch'i of spring, autumn, winter and summer is called correlation of categories (ho-lei 含類).247

Three significant terms appear in this passage. The emotions and seasons are both "activities" (hsing) that are suffused by ch'i. Further, the activities of both categories, the seasons and the representative emotions, are correlative entities. This indicates that Tung sees a natural correspondence between macrocosmic and microcosmic activities. The ruler, as we shall see, must ensure that both realms of activity correlate correctly.

Man has no control over whether or not ch'i is present, for the seasons and the emotions are natural given. The options open to him are whether or not he can control (chiih 竅) and restrain (jen 棲) them properly. If he tries to eliminate or stop up the emotions, serious difficulties result. If man controls the emotions properly, "then there is compliance (shun); if he stops (chih 乐) them, then there is chaos (luan)."248

Recall the earlier discussion of ch'i as necessarily active. Any attempt to eliminate or stop up the manifestations of ch'i leads to disorder. Order is the product of correctly manifested ch'i. In Heaven this appears as seasons that are timely with appropriately

247 CCFL, Ch. 46, 11.8b.
248 CCFL, Ch. 43, 11.4a. See Su Yü, CCFLYC, Ch. 44, 11.10b.
controlled intensity; in man this appears as mind-directed emotions with the same qualities. It is the role of the ruler to ensure that his subjects learn to manifest their emotions properly. He achieves this by the political application of his own emotions, which are modeled on Heaven. "The ruler of man uses love, hate, joy, and anger to change customs and habits (piang-hsi-su 变習俗), and Heaven uses warmth, coolness, coldness, and heat to transform the grasses and the trees."249 "Customs and habits" refer to the habituation that follows from proper education guided by the ruler.

The emotions, like the seasons, are animated by the ch'i of Yin and Yang. Thus each group of four may be divided into those that are dominated by positive forces -- spring, summer, joy, and pleasure -- and those dominated by negative forces -- fall, autumn, anger, and sorrow. The Four Seasons, the emotions, and Yin-Yang all are arranged in superior-subordinate relationships; those that are primarily negative assist and support those that are positive. Tung ties this superior-subordinate interaction to other relationships we have discussed earlier. "Therefore, the Four Seasons can be compared to the way of father and son, to the purpose of Heaven and earth, and to the righteousness of ruler and minister."250 The "way of father and son" is

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249 CCFI, Ch. 44, 11.7a.
250 CCFI, Ch. 43, 11.4b.
characterized by the subordinate son acting filial to his superior father and, in turn, the father acting lovingly toward his son. The purpose (or "will," chih) of Heaven is characterized by superior Heaven bestowing nourishment and benevolence upon the earth, and by subordinate earth faithfully assisting Heaven's accomplishments. The ruler and minister relationship follows the same pattern of benevolence and loyalty. When Tung discusses the content of the ruler's "education to goodness," he classifies the ruler's actions into two general categories: the ruler as virtuous model, and the ruler as disciplinary guide. In the following section I present an analysis of these two categories of ruling activity and seek to explain how Yin-Yang theory forms the cosmological basis for these aspects of ruling.

6.2 THE RULER AS MODEL AND GUIDE

"Yin and Yang are the principles for ordering man. Yin is the ch'i of punishment, and Yang is the ch'i of virtue."251 "Punishment" (hsing 刑) seems to be a general term Tung uses that includes laws (fa 法), regulations (chih 節), and penalties (fu 罰), as well as particular punishments. "Virtue" (te 德) is a collective term for all the virtues, such as filial piety, loyalty, faithfulness, propriety, benevolence, and righteousness.

251 ibid.
The ruler is but one man, yet he is different from any other man because of his unique status. He alone has the position called Son of Heaven that has duties prescribed by the Mandate of Heaven. The ruler, as the connecting nexus of Heaven, earth, and man, is the "origin" (yuan) and the foundation (pen) of the "country" (kung). The ruler as "origin" means that he has full responsibility for the administration of the country. Key to successful administration is the ruler’s careful attention to the fundamentals (pen) of the cosmos: Heaven, earth, and man. Heaven gives birth (sheng) to the people with the capability for filial piety and fraternal love (ti), earth nourishes (yang) them with clothing and food, and man perfects (gn’eng) them with the rules of propriety (li) and music (yueh).

All three of these are dependent upon the activities of the ruler because if he does not ensure that the people develop their potential to manifest filial piety and fraternal love, then the means of giving birth, the family, will be lost. If the ruler does not ensure that the people have ample clothing and food from their workings of the earth, as in farming and fishing, then the people will not

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252 CCFL, Ch. 19, 6.5b. The term kung is translated here as "country" because the concepts of "nation" and "state" are anachronistic to this period. Within the country, or empire, there were many smaller "states" ruled by nobles, but these are different from the nation-state of the 18th century onwards. The "country" (kung) referred to the suzerain of the imperial court. For a discussion of this point, see Hsiac, History, pp. 25-26.
have the basic sustenance that is the prerequisite to education. And if the ruler does not ensure proper standards for propriety and music, they they will not transform toward refinement. Should fundamental categories be destroyed due to the ineffectiveness of the ruler, then chaos results. "Each person will follow his own desires (yu), each household will have its own customs, the father will be unable to control his son, and the ruler will be unable to control his ministers." If no standards are set by the ruler, customs will be in disarray and the hierarchy of statuses will collapse. People will be no better than animals; they will be "like wild deer."

The three fundamentals -- Heaven, earth, and man -- are interdependent and work together like "the hands and feet completing the body. If the ruler neglects any one of these three, he will no longer be a genuine ruler, that is, the "name" (ming) ruler will no longer correspond with the "reality" (shih) of ruling defined by the name. If he neglects his duties to his people, meaning he has insufficient love for them, he will eventually lose his position and die. He will endanger himself and perish because of his own lack of attention to the three fundamentals. Further, if the ruler does not respect the

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253 Ibid., 6.5b-6a.
254 Ibid., 6.6a.
255 Ibid.
fundamentals that provide birth, sustenance, and perfection, then the people also will not respect them. Thus, "the ruler is unable to unite the people (chien-jen) and, if he cannot unite them, even though he uses strict punishments (hsing) and severe forms of execution, still the people will not follow him." 256 Once again, the term "unite" appears to indicate the structural arrangement and functional interaction of the statuses and roles of society. 257 If the ruler cannot bring about proper unification of social interaction, then his "name" of ruler is misapplied.

The enlightened and virtuous ruler, significantly, "must exhibit his faithfulness." Faithfulness (hsin), as we saw earlier, is one of the key virtues of subordinates toward superiors, such as earth toward Heaven and wife toward husband. But Tung firmly ties the ruler as well into a subordinate status. The ruler's superior is Heaven, and Heaven requires the ruler to fulfill specific duties. The means of respecting the first fundamental, Heaven, is by performing certain sacrifices to Heaven, earth, and ancestors, and by publicly honoring people who exemplify filial piety and fraternal love. The second fundamental, earth, is respected when the ruler performs such seasonal sacrifices as those for planting, harvesting, and silk production. He respects the third fundamental, man, when he

256 Ibid., 6.5b-6a.

257 See Chapter III, Section 2 for the initial discussion of this term.
"establishes the imperial academy and local schools; cultivates the virtues of filial piety, fraternal love, respect (ching), and humility (iang), and enlightens the people through educational transformation, arranging them with propriety and music." If the ruler succeeds in these three areas of endeavor, "then the people will be like sons and younger brothers and will not usurp [the ruler's] power." 

Now we see that Tung has made the ruler subordinate to Heaven in specific ways. The ruler's role performance involves all three structural components of the cosmos. If the ruler is to succeed, he must emphasize virtue (te), but success cannot come without assistance. Just as earth is necessary for the successful completion of the seasons guided by Heaven, so the ruler must depend upon the service of his subordinates, the ministers.

Heaven's activity is a model for the ruler's role performance. Tung states that Heaven's position is lofty, therefore it is to be respected. Despite its superior status, Heaven bestows its favors on man and the 10,000 things, thus it is benevolent. Heaven is difficult to identify or define because its form is concealed, nevertheless it is manifested because of its activity in the world. The ruler, if he follows the actions of Heaven, 

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258 ibid.
259 ibid.
does not lower his position by handling personally the exhausting affairs of administering the country. Instead, he appoints groups of men as his ministers who carry out the detailed affairs of ruling. The ruler delegates authority in order to remain in a lofty, supervisory position from which he can direct all ruling affairs. Ideally, if the ruler's love for the people is great (and, presumably, effective) enough, then he will not have to utilize his positive and negative emotions to dispense "rewards (shan 奉) or penalties (fa 罰) in order to be benevolent." He can remain concealed from the people, yet they know of his extensive concern for their welfare. "Therefore, he who is to be ruler over men takes non-activity (wu-wei 無為) to be his way [of governing]... He assumes the position of non-action and avails himself of the whole system of officials."

We have already noted that the status relationships between the ruler and his ministers is based upon the cosmological interplay of Heaven and earth. Therefore, "those who are ministers over men should imitate the Way of

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260 CCFL, Ch. 18, 6.4b. The passage is repeated in Ch. 78, 17.3a.

261 CCFL, Ch. 18, 6.4b-5a. See also Ch. 19, 6.6b-7a: "One who desires to be respected must appoint (teü) those who are virtuous."

262 Ibid., 6.5a.

263 Ibid.
by providing faithful assistance to the ruler. The ruler conceals his emotions from his subordinates in order to prevent them from observing his countenance and adjusting their remarks accordingly, thereby avoiding flatterers and encouraging sincerity in his subordinates. The ministers, to the contrary, are expected to manifest their emotions clearly so that the ruler can know their exact viewpoints and capacities for judgment. In this manner the ruler is aloof and dignified, while "those who are ministers will completely exhaust their emotions and expend their efforts, thereby manifesting their strengths and weaknesses." In this way the ruler can determine the genuine skills of his ministers. If he delegates his authority correctly, then he need not initiate affairs, but only respond to difficulties as they arise; he need not personally exert great effort in ruling, but can direct the most qualified (and virtuous) ministers to act. Just as all credit redounds to the superior, for example though the ch'i of earth brings about rain it is called "Heavenly rain" not "earthly rain," so the activities of the ministers shower glory on the ruler and not on themselves. This is reinforced by the "naming" of rulers and ministers in the

264 Ibid.
265 Ibid.
266 See Ch. 43, 11.4a.
267 Ibid., and Ch. 19, 6.5b.
Spring and Autumn Annals where "the ruler is not given the 
name (sing) 'bad' (g) and the minister is not given the name 
'good' (shan), for all goodness is attributed to the ruler 
and all badness is attributed to the ministers. The 
righteousness of the ministers compares with earth." 
Therefore, those who act as ministers serve the ruler as 
earth serves Heaven.268 

Therefore the ministers dwell in the Yang but are 
Yin ; the ruler dwells in the Yin but is Yang. 
The Way of Yin exalts forms and shows emotions; the 
Way of Yang is without distinctions and honors 
spirituality.269 

In an ideal country the ruler would not have to use 
rewards and punishments because the people would be refined, 
good, and act properly, but practically this is not the 
case. Therefore, the ruler must actively educate the people 
to goodness through various means. Generally speaking, the 
ruler must play upon the desires and fears of the people to 
achieve their gradual transformation. This is a 
paternalistic approach to education. Both human psychology 
and the status hierarchy contribute to Tung's analysis of 
the method for proper ruling. 

268 CCFL, Ch. 44, 11.6a. See Su Yu, CCFLYG, Ch. 43, 11.7a. 

269 CCFL, Ch. 19, 6.7b. The term shen 神, "spirituality" 
is a problematic issue in Tung's essays. A more 
complete definition might be "subtleties of creativity," 
indicating that the ruler, as Yang, can be more 
creative, while the ministers, as Yin are more tied to 
their assigned subordinate roles. I have not undertaken 
an extensive review of how this term is used throughout 
the CCFL because I believe considerable work needs to be 
done on its use in earlier Chinese philosophers as well 
before its meaning can be clearly understood.
6.3 THE METHOD FOR PROPER RULING

Ruling correctly requires the correct application of rewards (shang) and punishments (hsing) to encourage people toward good actions and restrain them from bad activity. Chapter 20 of the CCPI provides a detailed analysis of these means for ordering and transforming the people. In this section I follow Tung's presentation rather closely because it allows further illustration of earlier themes concerning hierarchical statuses and the roles of rulers and ministers.

Tung begins by saying that if the people have nothing toward which they are attracted, then the ruler will be without a means to influence them, and if they have nothing from which they are repelled, then he will be without a means to instill fear. If the ruler lacks the means of guiding and altering actions, he "does not have the means to restrict and regulate the people."270

Several key concepts require explication at this point. The title of this chapter is "Protecting Position and Authority" (pao-wei-ch'uan 保位權). We already know that "position" (li) refers to one's place in the hierarchy of statuses. "Authority" (ch'uan) is a more difficult term to analyze. Tung uses the term to indicate that the ruler, if he has authority, has the powers of "assessment," "balancing," and "adjustment." It can be used as a noun and as a verb, and in both applications means that when the

270 CCPI, Ch. 20, 6.3a.
ruler observes the actions of his ministers and the people, he has the power and authority to decide how to redirect or restrict their activities. The ruler has knowledge of correct norms for role performances and through his ch'uan, his "influence" or "adjustment" he encourages good habits in his subordinates. This gives the ruler flexibility. If rewards do not work to motivate some men, then he can create change by instilling the dread associated with punishments.271

The ruler's goal is to "restrict" and "regulate" the people. The "restriction" (chih 制) of the people, if we recall the discussion of man's nature in Chapter II, means that the ruler seeks to discipline man's emotions and desires, not to eliminate them. Rewards and punishments are the means by which the ruler can channel man's emotions and desires thus guide him toward mature role performance. Personal and social discipline arises from realizing correct roles. Natural performance of roles indicates attainment of a refined character. "Regulating" (chih 制) the people refers to the organizational aspect of the ruler's duty wherein he must clearly structure the statuses of society so that each man "knows his place." As we have already seen, different statuses require different roles, thus man needs to learn precision in determining his location in the web of

271 See CCFL, Ch. 6, 4.9b, "... there has never been a ruler who has abandoned authority (ch'uan) and be able to regulate his power."
human relationships. The ruler "systemizes" by establishing a moral system that defines what is respected (tsun) and what is base (rei) and by ranking the differences between the honored (kuei) and the despised (chien)."\textsuperscript{272}

Here we again encounter the moral and structural differentiations Tung made between these two pairs of terms that indicate extremes of status and of moral excellence (see Chapter III). These distinctions are further clarified by the establishment of "official offices, positions, and emoluments."\textsuperscript{273} Tung also recommends that the ruler use "the advantages of the five flavors, make abundant the five colors, and tune the five notes in order to tempt their [people's] eyes and ears."\textsuperscript{274} This seems to be a cryptic way of saying that the system of ranks and privileges -- recall the discussion in Chapter III of wealth and status -- is made obvious to all the people through sumptuary laws and external marks of reward or punishment. Thus, a loyal minister, depending of course upon what most appeals to his emotions and desires, may be rewarded with excellent food at court, distinctive clothing or gifts, or special music and dance in his honor. In contrast, a criminal or unfilial son may be forbidden from wearing certain styles and colors of clothes or may be physically tattooed in punishment for his

\textsuperscript{272} \textit{CCFL}, Ch. 20, 6.8a.
\textsuperscript{273} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{274} \textit{Ibid}.
intriguing ways. By such means at his disposal, the ruler can "purify the discordant, make obvious different ranks" and use honor and disgrace "to stir and move people's hearts." Once the ruler perspicaciously grasps what the people are fond of, then he can encourage them with rewards. And when he knows what they fear, he can establish penalties to restrict activities detrimental to the ordered ends of society.275

The ruler can encourage the people with rewards and discourage them with fear, but neither form of controlling the people should "exceed the proper measure." If the ruler dispenses too many rewards, he will be too lenient and if his punishments are too frequent, he will be overly severe (wei 威 ). "If he is too severe then the ruler will lose his influence and the people will be resentful with each other; if he is too lenient then the ruler will lose his virtue and the people will injure each other."276 The need for balancing the administration of rewards and punishments recalls our earlier discussions of the proper progress of the Four Seasons. Too much Yang in summer causes drought and too much Yin in winter causes devastating blizzards. Rewards and punishments are results of the Yang and Yin emotions of the ruler. These need to be regulated appropriately or the ruler will bring disorder to the

275 Ibid.
276 Ibid., 6.8a-b.
country. Tung states that this principle of not exceeding the proper measure for rewards and punishments was employed successfully by the ancient Sages, who "in systemizing the people encouraged them to have desires (yu), but did not let them pass certain limitations; and encouraged them to be generous and honest, but not eliminate desires." The same standards need to be followed by contemporaneous rulers, Tung implies, which means that the way of a correct ruler can be found from history.

"That which makes a country a country lies in virtue. That which makes a ruler a ruler lies in majesty (wei)." The end of society is the virtuous activity of all its members. If the web of societal relationships is not permeated by virtue, then the "name" country is misapplied, for a genuine country adheres to virtuous norms. The ruler's Mandate of Heaven requires him to ensure the people are educated toward goodness. To carry out this duty the ruler needs to maintain majesty, for it is a constant reminder to all people that he is their superior. The ruler must firmly protect his virtue so that the people will depend upon him and utilize his influence "to rectify his

277 Ibid., 6.8b.

278 Ibid. Note that I have translated wei 王 as both "severity" and "majesty." Though the contexts require these different renderings, it must be mentioned that the two are very closely related because the imperial visage is supposed to be severe. This is the way he conceals his emotions from his ministers.
ministers."\textsuperscript{279} The music and carpentry metaphors that Tung uses to illustrate the ruler's powers of discrimination and appropriate response to situations appear in this chapter as well. "Sounds may comply (shun) or deviate (ni)," so there must be standards of "purity and discord." "Shapes may be good or bad," so there must be standards for "crooked and straight." Within each extreme there is the potentiality for its opposite, for all things have \textit{Yin} and \textit{Yang}, so the ruler must carefully observe his subordinates for the slightest deviation from proper standards of conduct. Subtle departures from norms can eventually lead to major discord. The rectification of names seems to underlie this because Tung is speaking of measuring role performance against proper definitions to see if his subordinates square with the duties required of them.

Tung says, "if black and white are clearly distinct, then the people will understand where to go, and if they understand where to go, they will attain order (chih)."\textsuperscript{280} How are "black and white" and "knowing where to go" linked? I submit that Tung is referring to the general descriptive "titles" (hao) when he mentions "black and white," while "knowing where to go" refers to "names," that is, the definition of proper activity that is based upon the requirements of one's "title" or "status." If statuses and

\textsuperscript{279} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., 6.3b-9a.
roles are in line with correct standards, then individuals and society are ordered. But this can be achieved only if the ruler ensures that the system of statuses and role performance square with the constant standards modeled on Heaven. Like Heaven's activity that depends upon the assistance of earth, the ruler requires support from his ministers. Therefore, the application of rewards and punishments to ministers is especially important.

The ruler directs his ministers, who act for his benefit. The ruler "takes the country to be his body and the ministers to be his heart, using the ministers' speech as his voice and their actions as his form." The ministers are like shadows of the ruler. They are like echoes of his sound. Shadows can be crooked or straight and can be pure or dissonant, so the ruler keenly listens and carefully observes his subordinates in order to reward and penalize them correctly.

Ministers who are correct and upright are rewarded and promoted, while those who are deviant and distorting are punished and demoted. The ruler himself needs to be discriminating and to have knowledge of virtue before he can reward or punish. Again, the rectification of names comes into play, for the ruler must "grasp the 'name' (ming) and investigate its 'substance' (chén) in order to consider its 'reality' (shén)." This is to say if the ruler wishes to

281 Ibid., 6.9a.
reward a minister, first he must know the "name," the
definition of the role the minister was to perform. Second,
he must investigate the actual "substance" of the specific
role performed by the minister to ascertain whether or not
the act in reality conforms to the definition. If act and
role conform, then he rewards; if they deviate from each
other, then he penalizes. Rewards and punishments are based
upon standards that govern each role. "Therefore, all the
officials divide their duties (chih) and are ordered ...
[and] accomplishments come from the ministers but the
reputation returns to the ruler."283 This method of ruling
not only was followed by the Sages, but also the activity of
ministers serving their ruler rests upon the cosmological
model, presented in Chapter V, of the Five Powers each
having separate functions to assist Heaven.

6.4 RULER-DIRECTED CHANGE

Change, which permeates the universe, can be orderly or
chaotic. The ruler's duties toward Heaven and his subjects
prescribe specific roles, which include ensuring that cosmic
and microcosmic changes are in harmony with each other.
Before this role can be performed, the ruler must learn to
discern what constitutes appropriate change. The model of
the Sages is an important source of information about...

282 Ibid.
283 Ibid.
acceptable role performance. The Sages are honored because they began with an analysis of the operations of Heaven, then applied their understanding of ch'î in cosmic, natural functioning to the changes of ch'î in man's activity. Yin and Yang give rise to changes in things. Things will transform toward correct, ordered ends if directed correctly. Change must always occur. Attempts to stop things from changing causes disorder. Stillness is equivalent to stagnation of the vital forces, which deviates (mi) from the Way of Heaven. Heaven, earth, and man continually change, but it is difficult to penetrate the principles underlying that change. "Because the ruler is faced with the ceaseless activity of the masses, he is in danger of confusing the ch'î of order and disorder with the transformations of Heaven and earth and [thus] may not bring about order."286

Because "order" implies "orderly change," the knowledgeable ruler will seek not to resist change, but to direct it. Harmony (he) is closely associated with order and also is a dynamic goal of smooth, timely social interactions among all statuses of men, and of men with the cosmos. "When the world is ordered and the people harmonious, when purposes are peaceful and ch'î upright, 

284 See CCP, Ch. 81, 17.7b-8a.
285 See Ch. 80, 17.5b.
286 Ibid., Ch. 81, 17.8a.
then the transformations of Heaven and earth are refined and the 10,000 things arise beautifully; but when the world is disordered, and when purposes are strained and ch'i deviant, then the transformations of Heaven and earth are impeded, and portents and disasters occur."287 This linking of the activity of Heaven and man is a familiar theme that Tung here couples with a significant addition: natural portents and disasters can follow from human discord. This adds an extensive burden of responsibility to the status of ruler. In short, he not only must see to the proper transformations of his subjects, but also he is subject to Heaven's reprimands in natural occurrences.

We have seen that the ruler directs and corrects human activity through Yin and Yang emotions, categorized generally into punishments and rewards. Now it is evident that Heaven's purpose -- its expectation that man and society will become good, thus perfected -- actively judges the quality of the ruler's ability. Calamities (tsai 了), portents (yi 王), and disasters (hai 燊) are early warning devices for the ruler, it seems, to make him aware not only of insufficient attention to his ruling duties, but also to possible loss of the Mandate of Heaven. Thus it behoves the ruler to learn the principles of cosmic activity and translate them into political action. These activities of Yin and Yang, the Four Seasons, and the Five Powers serve as

287 Ibid.
models for the ruler's (and the ministers') role performance.

However difficult it may be, the ruler must understand the cosmic activities directed by Heaven.

Heaven's intentions (yi) are difficult to see, for its way has difficult principles. Therefore understanding where the Yin and Yang enter and depart, and where they are full and empty is how to observe Heaven's will (Chih).288

"Observing the will of Heaven" involves other cosmic manifestations of ch'i as well. "Differentiating the essentials and incidentals, compliances and perversities, significance and insignificance, and minuteness and breadth of the Five Powers is how to observe the Way of Heaven."289

In Chapter V we saw that the interactions of the Five Powers were templates for mutual assistance and correction among ministers and, further, that the sole goal of their interactions was to serve their superior, either Heaven or the ruler. Other cosmological principles also have great relevance to ruling activity. Tung is explicit on this:

He who is ruler of man, by granting life and taking away by death each in accord with righteousness he is like the Four Seasons; by necessarily arranging the official offices and appointing functionaries by their abilities he is like the Five Powers; by loving benevolence and hating perversity by employing virtues and avoiding punishments, he is like Yin and Yang. This is what is called matching Heaven.290

288 CCFI, Ch. 80, 17.7a. See Su Yu, CCFLYC, Ch. 81, 17.8b.
289 Ibid., 17.7a-b.
290 CCFI, Ch. 80, 17.7b.
"Matching" or "the match of " (p'ei) is equivalent to the meaning of 合 as "correlation." Once again Tung is emphasizing the cosmological correspondence of Heaven's activities with those of the ruler. "As for Heaven, its Way is to perpetuate the 10,000 things, while the ruler perpetuates man, [thus] the greatness of the ruler is to connect Heaven and earth." In sur, it appears that the ch'i directed by Heaven and the ch'i directed by the ruler follow the same principles. By matching the principles of cosmic order, the ruler brings order to the world. The universe is then perfected, with the Way of man matching the Way of Heaven. The ruler's activities therefore have an influence on cosmic order or disorder. If the latter, then the purpose of Heaven is being neglected and portents, calamities, and disasters may occur in the realm of natural events to express Heaven's judgment on the realm of human political events. It makes sense that the ruler should seek to govern as Heaven governs to avoid losing his authority to rule, the Mandate of Heaven. One particular approach to successful ruling is to copy Heaven's use of the Four Seasons.

291 Ibid.
6.4.1 Seasonable Ruling

"It is said that 'the true king (wang) matches Heaven,' meaning in their ways, Heaven has the Four Seasons and the
king has "four principles of governing (ssu-cheng 四
政).\textsuperscript{292} Ssu-cheng is difficult to translate elegantly, but
the idea is that of distinct yet related activities of
administrative activity directed by the ruler. Heaven uses
the warmth of spring to give birth, the heat of summer for
growth, the coolness of autumn to kill ("harvest"), and the
cold of winter to store up. Each season's ch'i is different
but they work together to complete the cycle of the year.\textsuperscript{293}
The Sages of antiquity modeled their activities after
Heaven. They used honors (ch'ing 慶), rewards (shang 賞),
penalties (fa 罰), and punishments (hsing 刑) to match the
varying temperatures of the seasons. Each of these are
different affairs of governing, but they "work together"
like the seasons and are "that by which true kings perfect
(ch'eng) their virtue."\textsuperscript{294} Just as the Four Seasons, these
categories of governing "each has a proper place"
(ke-yu-cheng-ch' u 各有正處) just like the seasons
each has its proper "time" (shih). The four ideally
supplement rather than interfere with each other.\textsuperscript{295}

\textsuperscript{292} CCFL, Ch. 55, 13.1a.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid., 13.1a-b.
are political activities designed to assist the ruler in transforming his malleable subjects toward good activity.

The ruler, in an ideal world, can transform the people through his activity as a model of virtue, as did the early kings of antiquity. Tung frequently discusses the ideal past in passages like the following:

The former kings manifested their virtue to show it to the people. The people were pleased and sang about it by composing odes. They liked it, were transformed by it, and took it as their custom. Therefore the kings did not command them, for the people acted on their own accord.²⁹⁶

By observing how the Seasons and Powers control the cycle of the year, the ruler's goal is employ virtue to transform the people without relying upon laws (fa 法) and punishments (hsing), for "Punishments not being used was the accomplishment and virtue of Yao and Shun." Tung calls this "the Way of great order (ta-chih-chih-tac 大治之道 )" which "the former Sages passed on to be carried out again."²⁹⁷ There has been, not surprisingly, always a gap between the ideal order a country should have and its actual condition. Tung is well aware of this discrepancy. The says that superiors "do not make known their virtuous behavior and the people are unclear about righteousness." As a result the way is not known and rulers "resort to great severity and cruelty as necessary to rectify them, which injures and oppresses Heaven's people and weakens the

²⁹⁶ CCEL, Ch. 31, 9.1b.
²⁹⁷ Ibid., 9.2a.
primary virtues." Note that "Heaven's" people require guidance and rectification. This implies that the ruler is a caretaker for Heaven's people and not an absolute sovereign over them. Further, if the ruler resorts to heavy penalties and punishments to achieve order, he is bound to fail. Order comes in compliance with the Way of Heaven, and that way is one of proportion and balance between Yin and Yang wherein Yin -- equivalent to punishments -- assists Yang but does not dominate it. Tung quotes Confucius to make this point:

If a country has the Way, although it has punishments the ruler does not use them. If a country is without the Way, although the ruler kills the people he cannot overcome them.299

Instead of relying on the simple solution of punishments to attempt subjugation of the people, the ruler must take the more difficult route of educating people through good administration (including the "four categories of ruling), and being himself a model of virtue. "The sagely persons were generous with their love and circumspect with severity, were bountiful in their virtues and simple in their punishments, and through this matched Heaven."300 The contemporary ruler, according to Tung's analysis, can attempt no less. "The Way of the Sages corresponds with Heaven and earth and spreads throughout the world to change

298 Ibid.
299 Ibid.
300 CCPF, Ch. 53, 12.6b.
customs and alter habits."\textsuperscript{301} Customs and habits are modified by the \textit{Yin} and \textit{Yang} activities of the ruler. "\textit{Yang} comprises virtue and \textit{Yin} comprises punishments."\textsuperscript{302} Thus, "although a common man (\textit{p'i-fyu}) is lowly, he can see the functions of punishment and virtue."\textsuperscript{303} Punishments are subordinate; they assist virtue as \textit{Yin} assits \textit{Yang}.

Two questions arise at this point. First, how does the ruler know what constitutes Sagely rule in line with cosmological principles? Second, how does the ruler know if what he deems to be the correct form and content of ruling and of transforming the people through education is in fact in line with Heaven's purpose? Answers to both questions involve the ministers.

6.5 \textbf{NOMS FOR RULING AND THE ROLES OF MINISTERS}

Tung clearly argues for the subordination of punishments to virtues and bases his argument upon the interaction of \textit{Yin} and \textit{Yang}. We have seen that on the cosmological level severe blizzards and droughts result from imbalances in \textit{Yin} and \textit{Yang}, which implies that these two manifestations of \textit{Ch'i} each contribute to or detract from order. Order is a condition of proper superiority and subordinance of the two forces. Though \textit{Yang} is considered primary and dominant in

\textsuperscript{301} \textit{Ibid.}, 12.7a.

\textsuperscript{302} \textit{CCFL}, Ch. 44, 11.6b. See Su Yu, \textit{CCFLYG}, Ch. 43, 11.7b.

\textsuperscript{303} \textit{CCFL}, Ch. 46, 11.8b-9a.
the ideal changing of things, the assistance of Yin is necessary. Further, Yin itself is dominant at times as we have seen in the cycle of the seasons. Therefore, when evaluating whether or not the cycle of seasons is orderly, both the forces of Yin and Yang require scrutiny. This cosmological, macrocosmic level has relevance to the realm of man.

The ruler necessarily uses virtue and punishments to transform the country. We have seen that even if ideal order is achieved, the possibility of penalties and punishments remain, but there is no reason to utilize them because the people of themselves act in accord with goodness. Nevertheless, the continuing potential for the employment of punishment is maintained, just as Yin is never eliminated. Yin activities — for the ruler and for his subjects — are not limited to the realm of punishment. We have seen that the Yin emotions include anger and sorrow. Sorrow refers to mourning, which is an important topic in the CCFL. Appropriate mourning reflects filial piety, and Tung discusses at length the duties of the ruler's mourning his parents vis-a-vis his duties toward Heaven in performing the imperial sacrifices.30+

Although Tung occasionally mentions four seasonal sacrifices that the ruler is supposed to perform, these chapters focus on the chiao sacrifice that the ruler

30+ See especially Chapters 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, and 76.
performs on the first day of each new year. There is no need to discuss these sacrifices in detail, but there is one theme, which runs through these chapters, that is relevant to our discussion. The **chiac** sacrifice is an over-riding duty for the ruler, even more important than mourning the death of his own parents. The **chiac** sacrifice demonstrates the subordination of the ruler to Heaven. It is his most visible and important enactment of his role as Son of Heaven. "To pass the proper times without sacrificing is to deviate from the Way of being a son."\(^305\) "The title (hao) of Son of Heaven symbolizes the Son of Heaven. How can he receive the title Son of Heaven and be without the propriety (li) of the Son of Heaven, for the Son of Heaven not being able to do other than sacrifice to Heaven is no different from a man's necessarily providing for his father."\(^306\) The significance of this simply is that the ruler because of his status is himself locked into a web of relationships that include his own subordination to a superior, Heaven.

The ruler must judge the appropriateness of his **Yin** and **Yang** activities. The obvious question that arises at this point is how does the ruler know his virtue is in line with ideal standards of good modeled by the Sages? "The Sages imitated Heaven and virtuous men imitate the Sages."\(^307\)

\(^305\) **CCFL**, Ch. 68, 15.3a.

\(^306\) **CCFL**, Ch. 67, 15.1b.

\(^307\) **CCFL**, Ch. 1, 1.4b.
how does the ruler know that in reality he is virtuous? Concomitantly, how does the ruler know that his use of punishments conforms to the proper standards that subordinate their use to virtuous ends? The ruler, in brief, can turn in two directions for evaluations of his role performance: to classical texts that record the principles for rectifying and ordering the world, and to Heaven for its judgment expressed through auspicious signs, portents, and calamities. In both cases, however, the ruler needs assistance.

The early texts are difficult to read and interpret. It is equally difficult to understand the significance of portents and warnings. Assistance comes from the ministers, who are trained in understanding the classic books of antiquity that record not only the principles essential for ordered ruling, but also record instances of natural omens and aberrations along with their historical significance. Consequently, the norms of ruling are made known through ministers performing their roles in support of the ruler. In the final analysis the ruler must decide which ministers provide the best advice and then whether or not to follow their exhortations; he cannot delegate all of his decision-making powers. If he does, then he no longer fulfills the "name" ruler.

The ministers, on the other hand, need to remember their proper status and remain subordinate to the ruler. Tung
quotes the Book of History to illustrate this point, saying that if a minister has a good plan of action,

... you should enter the court and inform the ruler. Your ruler announces it from the inner court as his plan, and you comply with it outside the court, saying: 'This plan, this method -- this is only the virtue of our ruler.' This is the method of the minister.\(^{308}\)

It is recurrent passages such as this one in the CCFL that demonstrate Tung's keen awareness of the tightrope the minister must walk in dealing with the ruler. The minister's role is to remonstrate with the ruler to encourage actions that square with standards of rule found in the ancient texts. If the ruler follows a minister's advice and succeeds, the minister must efface himself and allow all honor, respect, and majesty redound to the ruler. We encountered this argument earlier in connection with the interplay of the five ministers patterned after the Five Powers. In that instance as well, the minister and Powers were faithful and loyal toward their superiors, the ruler and Heaven, and their activities were support activities. This subordinate role is easy to postulate in ink or paper, but is sometimes a bitter pill to swallow in actual practice. In times of success, the minister must watch the ennui for successful activity go to his superior, and in times of failure he must blame himself (and receive criticism from others) for either bad advice or not giving good advice effectively enough to convince his superior.

\(^{308}\) CCFL, Ch. 3, 2.3b.
Further, at times he must face the ruler and decide whether or not to resign his position in protest or even risk death for his criticisms.

It appears both from Tung's comments scattered in the CCFL and from the record of his personal life in the Shih Chi, that he was well aware of the delicate and dangerous ministerial roles. Anyone, even in contemporary times, who has had the task of serving as advisor to any superior with a measure of power can empathize with the difficulties of being a minister. Psychologically, excitement and exhilaration are more often than not tempered with frustration.309

6.5.1 The Interpretation of Classical Texts

Tung lists six major texts that rulers and ministers must use to teach and nourish themselves. They use the Book of Odes and Book of History to order their purposes, the Book of Rites and Book of Music to purify their aesthetic standards, and the Book of Changes and the Ch'un-ch'iu to illuminate their knowledge. Each of these books are important sources of information and require close study, and each has particular advantages. The Book of Odes focuses on the purposes of the Way, therefore its advantage

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lies in the basic substance (chih) of things. The Book of Rites systematizes regulations, therefore its advantage lies in the refinement (wen 文) of man. The Book of Music sings of virtue, therefore emphasizes good customs (feng). The Book of History records prior accomplishments, therefore emphasizes affairs (shih). The Book of Changes provides the foundation for understanding Heaven and earth, and therefore emphasizes principles (shu 礼). The Ch'un-ch'iu provides standards for the rectification (cheng) of right and wrong (shih-fei), therefore emphasizes order (chih). 310

Tung concentrated his own study on the Ch'un-ch'iu, although in the CCFL he makes reference to the other classics. It appears from the preceding list that Tung considers the Ch'un-ch'iu to be especially relevant to what the ruler needs to know for successful rule. Further, it is significant that proper order flows from the rectification of names, for that is what is implied by cheng-shih-fei, "rectifying right and wrong." We have seen from the chapters on society, statuses, and roles that the rectification of names and titles provides proper standards by which to judge whether or not a person's actions are right or wrong. Furthermore, we have seen that right actions are virtuous and conform to the Way of Heaven, while wrong actions are bad and deviate from the Way of Heaven. The standards for good and bad are discoverable from the

310 CCFL, Ch. 2, 1.8b.
texts, especially (at least in Tung's view) in the Ch'\textsuperscript{un}-ch'i\textsuperscript{iu}. Tung's respect for historical records flows well within the mainstream of Chinese philosophical positions. The Ch'\textsuperscript{un}-ch'i\textsuperscript{iu} records Heaven's activities and the ruling methods of the ancient kings. It provides the "square and compass" by which square and round things can be tested. "The Sages gave different methods to order [the world] but their principles (\textit{li}) are the same. Because ancient and current times interconnect, thus the virtuous men [of the past] transmit their methods to later generations."\textsuperscript{311} This raises an important qualification about the use of historical sources.

Tung is not advocating a return to the ideal country of the ancient sage kings. Times change and so must the methods of ruling, but there are constant, unchanging, correct principles that underlie all ruling methods. These have to do with hierarchical statuses, differentiated role performances, proper interpretation of the virtues, and so on. Therefore, while Tung says each new ruler "must correct the regulations" (\textit{pi}-kai-chih 必改制), he cannot "correct the way nor change the principles."\textsuperscript{312} "Regulation" here refers to those institutions that organize the people. This correction ties in with the rectification of names. When a ruler (and dynasty) fails, the essential principles

\textsuperscript{311} CCFI, Ch. 1, 1.4b.

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid.
that govern human activity have been departed from; there has been a deviation of "reality" (shih), which is what the ruler and his subjects do, from "name" (ming), which is what their role performance should be. Therefore, when Tung speaks of changing the system, he means that the new ruler must break with his predecessor's erroneous interpretation of "names." This means that on the surface he alters the calendar, dynastic title, color and style of clothing, music, and so forth to indicate to all people that there is a new ruler. But on a deeper level he returns to the proper interpretation of names (and titles) so that the virtues of society once again may transform man toward goodness and order. Tung asks,

If the great bonds, human relations, principles of the Way, governmental order, educational transformation, practice of customs, and internal understanding are the same as they were under the previous king, what is corrected? Therefore, the true king corrects the names of the system but does not change the realities of the Way.

This is a very significant pair of sentences for several reasons. First, note the list of key concepts that we have now seen to constitute the core of social interaction. The "great bonds," ra-kang 大綱, refer to the "Three Bonds" that tie together the three major relationships in society, those between ruler and minister, husband and wife, and father and son. The "human relations," ren-lun 人倫, refer to the Three Bonds plus all the other human

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313 Ibid., 1.5a, emphasis added on "names" (ming) and "realities" (shih).
interactions in the web of status relationships. The "principles of the Way," tao-li 道理, refer to those unchanging general standards of right and wrong activity that bring, in an ordered society, compliance between the Way of Heaven and the Way of man. "Governmental order," cheng-chih 政治, is the ruler's administrative implementation of the principles of the Way of ruling.

"Educational transformation," chiao-hua 教化, is the key duty of the ruler by which he perfects the nature of man in response to the Mandate of Heaven. The "practice of customs," hsi-su 習俗, refers to the inculcation of correct habituation in the people so that they act good naturally. The "internal understanding," wen-yi 文義, refers to the need of people to develop proper attitudes of mind — of purpose -- so that habitual goodness not only fulfills the expectations of benevolent role performance, but also flows from good intentions. This comes from internalizing external habits. Tung is not suggesting that a new ruler change any of these categories, but he expects that they be fulfilled properly so that right and wrong are rectified. I submit that these two sentences summarize Tung's major concerns in the Ch'ung-ch'iu fan-lu.

We have seen that the interpretative role of the ministers is essential to the ruler's use of the ancient texts as a standard for his ruling practices. Tung argues as well for a continuing, active interest by Heaven in the
ruler's activity. We encountered this first in discussion of the Mandate of Heaven. It arises again when Tung discusses portents and disasters. Each of these categories of natural phenomena serve to warn the ruler that he is deviating from Heaven's purposes for man and society. Their occurrence therefore indicates that the ruler's nurture of man and society is incorrect.

6.5.2 The Interpretation of Natural Portents and Disasters

Tung makes occasional reference to auspicious natural signs, such as those that appear at the beginning of a new ruling dynasty, but he discusses at much greater length those frequent natural signs that indicate erroneous rule. There are two general categories of these signs. First, there are those that are early "portents" or "warnings," (hai). These always occur first and are less severe than the second categories of major natural "calamities" or "disasters," called If the ruler ignores early portents, then major disasters will follow. Portents are the admonishment of Heaven, while calamities show the majesty of Heaven. Generally, the cause of portents and disasters comes from the deviations of the country (kuo-chia 国家) from the way of Heaven. When a country begins to deviate

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314 See for example Ch. 16, 6.2b.
315 CCPL, Ch. 30, 8.11b.
316 Ibid.
from Heaven's purposes, "Heaven sends forth portents and warnings to admonish them," and if the country is not guided back to conformity with Heaven's way, the "Heaven manifests strange calamities in order to alarm and terrify them." If the ruler and people still do not understand the errors of their ways, then even greater calamities befall them. 317

Tung argues that portents and disasters are forms of Heaven's benevolence. Heaven's purpose is that the country transform towards order. "Therefore, when we observe Heaven's purpose (chih) from the portents and warnings, we should fear them but not hate them, and should consider that Heaven desires to rouse us from our faults and correct our negligence." 318 These natural occurrences are Heaven's active, qualitative judgment of the ruler's role performance. The portents and warnings should be welcomed as Heaven's tutelage, and not be considered negatively. They are Heaven's attempts to rescue a country from error. "The principle of the Ch'un-ch'iu is that when superiors change the ways of the ancients by altering the constant Way, Heaven responds with portents." 319 The minister's role is to interpret these portents and disasters by explaining their significance for the contemporary ruler and, specifically, to recommend changes in his ruling practice or

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317 Ibid.
318 Ibid.
319 Ibid., 3.11a-t.
even in his own virtue. The ruler should therefore welcome both natural aberrations and ministerial evaluations of them, for they are part of his own education to goodness. "The Sage ruler and virtuous sovereign are greatly pleased to receive the criticism of a loyal minister and the admonishment of Heaven."320 By this argument Tung once again emphasizes the interplay of statuses in which the ruler finds himself. He is admonished by his superior and assisted by his subordinates. To ignore either can lead to chaos. Then the ruler's duty to educate the people to goodness, which we saw in Chapter II, comes full circle to include himself. As a man he too must depend upon the social environment to contribute to his own perfection.

320 Ibid., 8.11b.
Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Man's nature has the potential for becoming good. For Tung, this means not only that man is capable of good actions, but also that he is capable of knowing what constitutes good actions. Man's potential internal sense of good can arise, however, if and only if it is drawn out by education. Man's actions and his thoughts are formed toward goodness through social discipline. In both cases models are essential. Models are found in the structured interaction of statuses, exemplified by the Three Bonds (san-kang) and the five human relationships (wu-lun).

A young male, for example, during early childhood learns how to be a correct son, younger brother, and friend to a small circle of peers. These relationships are closely guided by his parents. Through learning what actions are praised and blamed, the son develops an early sense of correct and incorrect actions by learning which actions conform to his parents' expectations and which deviate from them. His parents are both models and guides for good actions in his rather limited family experience. As the son matures, however, his interactions expand and become more complex. Family socialization makes statuses clear and
roles unambiguous. As the child grows older, his expanded human relationships build upon this earlier socialization.

Rules of propriety (li) and other virtues are internalized first through the guidance of family, then by the larger social milieu. The ruler is the over-all model for society and his ruling methods are successful if he follows the Way of Heaven. This parental model for the ruler is common to Confucianism. Tung's uniqueness lies in his detailed elaboration of how the principles of Yin and Yang, the Five Powers, and the Four Seasons give a cosmological basis for political philosophy. The cosmological arrangement and activity of ch'i and its various manifestations provide the ruler with the principles by which to arrange society, to regulate and evaluate his ministers, and to evaluate his own ruling performance. Tung's use of this cosmological theory strengthens his analysis of the ideal patterns for the political arrangement of man's social and political institutions. The ideal political arrangement, in turn, has direct implications for man's knowledge and performance of duties.

Tung's theory shows that the internal sense of duty, which is expressed in role performance, must arise if the social environment is correctly governed by the ruler. Man's inner sense of duty is a result of ideal external arrangement and interaction of society. First man learns how to act, then he learns attitudes toward that action.
Man's nature is disciplined and habituated in a social context that defines the correct form and content of his actions. Tung argues that if the social arrangement is in fact correlative with cosmological principles, then man's will and intentions -- his internal sense of what constitutes dutiful acts -- will conform with Heaven's purpose. If this is attained, then man will actually know his place and his duties, and will act properly. He internalizes principles of good activity, then he creatively applies these in his future actions. Thus, man educates himself by applying principles he has learned from his social environment. He also evaluates his own actions with the assistance of his peers in the relationships. Man's internal sense of correctness is subject to external evaluation, and that scheme of evaluation is rectified by the ruler who is the link between cosmological and political theory.

7.1 **MAN AND THE WAY OF HEAVEN**

The way of man (jen-tao) must match the Way of Heaven (t'ien-tao) before the goals of political order and personal goodness can be achieved. The ruler brings this about by educating the people. We have seen that the way of Heaven is therefore a normative standard, discoverable through the study of history, that the ruler must apply to his own ruling activities. The Way of Heaven embodies specific
"principles." These "principles," 理 or 義, must be derived from the facts of history and they collectively illuminate the meaning of the Way of Heaven. Although Tung does not seem to make the distinction, he uses 理 and 義 as "principles" in two senses: one sense refers to matters of form, the other involves matters of content.

In the sense of form, the preceding chapters have shown how ch'i, manifested in Yin and Yang, the Five Powers, and the Four Seasons represent certain cosmological principles of movement, change, and order or sequence. These cosmological principles then act as paradigms for arranging and regulating the world of political activity. We have seen, for example, that the interplay of Yin and Yang is a model for all correlative human relationships, in which one person is superior and the other subordinate. The Five Powers serve as patterns of arrangement and interaction for ministers. These models are reinforced by Tung's further alignment of the five directions (including the center), the five tastes, and five sounds with the Five Powers.

Now when Tung speaks of the 理 of Yin and Yang or the 理 of the Five Powers, he is stressing that there is inherent order within the cosmos; these are cosmological principles of movement, change, and arrangement that are constant in history. But it must be emphasized that this sense of formal arrangement of cosmological principles is on a very high level of generalization. While it is true that when
Yin waxes, Yang must wane, the principles of Yin and Yang do not include regulations governing degrees of intensity. The same is true of the Seasons, for although summer always follows spring, there seems to be no specific regulation of how cold or warm, calm or blustery, wet or dry each season should be. True, seasons do wax and wane generally within three month time spans, a form of cosmic regulation, but even this fact varies from man's normal local experience, especially if he has travelled very far north or south from his usual abode. Therefore, in the formal sense of "principle" Tung is emphasizing only the major themes of cosmological bases for political hierarchy and its arrangement: the ruler must be superior to his ministers and the people, and the ministers support and discipline each other in certain ways while remaining subordinate to their ruler. Here Tung's use of "principles" is relatively clear, and we can see how the general structure of society is based upon them.

Tung's use of cosmological "principles" to serve as explanatory and regulatory paradigms for the content of man's activity is a much more complex issue. We have seen that the Four Seasons, as cosmological principles, act as analogues for man's four primary emotions. Each season may vary in intensity, as may each emotion. Tung argues that both require regulation. Heaven regulates the seasons, man regulates his emotions, and the ruler teaches man how to
regulate emotions properly. From this man learns that it is important for emotions to be expressed at proper times, and that the human relationship in which any emotion is expressed will affect the content of that emotion. But detailed "principles" that govern the specifics of emotional expression do not precisely define specific acts. Thus, when Tung uses li or yi to cite principles for role performance rather than status structure, he means that the "principles" are actually heuristic guidelines, not precise definitions of constantly correct types of action.

For example, we can say that there is a principle of filial piety, that proper role performance of a son toward his father. In the formal sense of "principle," it is a clear normative constant that the status of "father" is superior to "son." But in the sense of "principle" considered as content, the role performance proper to a filial son will vary. The actual forms of propriety and politeness (li 禮) that give concrete expression to filial piety change because the customs governing deferential action change. Politeness alters its content in different social contexts and at different times but the necessity of politeness itself remains.

Knowledge of "principles" in the sense of heuristic guidelines can come from varied sources. In the most general sense, positive role performance, such as that of the Sage-kings Yao and Shun, provide examples of correct
human activity, and negative examples, such as the corrupt kings Chieh and Chou, also serve heuristic ends because they give instances of human behavior that should be avoided. But in a more specific sense, man learns principles for his actions from his intense socialization in all of his relationships from family outwards. He is gradually habituated from all sides. His internal sense of appropriateness is constantly reinforced by the rules of propriety (li) that he learns through his external social interactions. And Tung's philosophy shows that these social interactions, if ideal, must conform to the cosmological principles he has demonstrated to be normative paradigms for society.

There are two implications of this distinction between li and yi used as formal principles and as heuristic guidelines. First, the distinction permits Tung's political philosophy to admit an active tension between public order and individual creativity. The hierarchical, rather highly stratified society suggested by his formal principles is balanced against an ever-changing content of human activity. The virtues that sold human role performance provide heuristic guidelines, but the specific facts of action are subject to wide ranging variations. There are many ways to love, be loyal, be polite, and so on. There are still archetypes concerning what constitutes correctness, but individual good actions are predominantly free actions.
This distinction in the use of "principle" also illuminates our understanding of the conceptual relationship between "principles" and the "Way of Heaven." The "Way of Heaven" is the normative standard that man seeks to match so that the way of man attains the ideal order and goodness of action. "Principles," on the other hand, can now be seen as ways of spelling out specific aspects of the ideal goal in both form and content. Because of the flexibility built into principle as heuristic guideline, we can see that the "goal" of the Way of Heaven is not a single, inflexible one. Instead it admits of a range of possibilities throughout the process of history. What constitutes ideal order and harmony in one age in some ways is different from what they would be in other times. In all cases, however, when the ideals of political order and individual human goodness are attained, the ways of the cosmos and man are inextricably linked.

We have seen that the Way of Heaven is the perfect norm for man's actions, and Heaven's purpose is that man be good. For man to achieve this goal, the ruler must first provide the social and political order which guarantees the ideal environment for moral education. He must act as a moral model for the people. The ruler attains this political perfection with the assistance of Heaven. The portents and calamities, which express Heaven's judgment of the ruler's activities, warn the ruler when he deviates from
the norms found in the ordered cosmos. Thus, Heaven and man are linked by the ruler in an organic relationship wherein cosmic norms are the model for human activities.

In addition to explaining how Heaven's purpose is organically linked with man's education toward goodness, Tung shows how man contributes to this organic relationship through his own actions. Man has the potential to fulfill Heaven's purpose in creative ways. If man has received the proper moral education from the ruler and has thereby learned the principles embodied in the Way of Heaven, then he can express these principles in unique ways within his relationships. Man, through this creative activity, fulfills the moral norms of the Way of Heaven. Thus, man reinforces the organic relationship between the cosmic and political realms by his individual actions. Human moral perfection is ultimately modeled on cosmic perfection, and the perfect Way of Heaven is illuminated by the specific moral acts of man.

Tung's analysis of portents and calamities suggests that when man's activities in the political realm have become harmonious because of the ruler's tutelage, then Heaven's purpose will be fulfilled and there should be no more portents or calamities. It would seem to the modern scholar, therefore, that no ruler could attain perfection and avoid Heaven's warnings because there have always been eclipses. Tung's theory, however, implicitly accounts for
this with the minister's role of interpretation. Natural phenomena also can be interpreted as neutral or as auspicious. If the people in fact live in an ideal society under a good ruler, they will not view unusual natural phenomena as warnings from Heaven. The ministers will interpret portents as either unimportant or auspicious, and the people will assign no importance to the phenomena. When the ruler is depraved, however, both the people and the ministers look to Heaven for warnings.

7.2 **The Ruler: Constraints Above, Restraints Below**

We have seen that the ruler is the nexus in which Heaven, earth, and man are joined. He is superior over all other people, from chief minister to the lowest commoner. Heaven's purpose, with reference to the ruler, is quite clear. The ruler is authorized by the Mandate of Heaven to educate the people. He is expected to extend his benevolence to them, and to serve as their model (through exemplifying personal virtue) and as their guide (using the "four principles of governing" ssu-cheng). This hierarchical scheme has two implications for political philosophy.

First, Tung provides a cosmological rationale for the necessity of the monarchical system. Given the nature of man and the structure of society, there must be a ruler. Without the ruler to translate into action the purposes
expressed within the way of Heaven, the correct way of man could not be attained. The ruler is therefore essential not only to the ordered state but also to the possibility of good men. Two consequences follow from this. First, Tung limits the possible acceptable forms of government to one type, the monarchical. Deviation from monarchical, centralized rule, made legitimate by the Mandate of Heaven, deviates as well from the cosmological structure of the universe. Because goodness, in Tung's system, is inextricably linked with correlating the Ways of Heaven and man, a shift away from the hierarchical institutional structure of the body politic would ensure that man could never attain goodness.

But Tung's theory conceivably could allow for non-monarchical forms of government as well. His hierarchical theory of a single man at the apex who necessarily interacts with a circle of advisors could apply to a military dictatorship or a democratic scheme of government. His cosmological theory could provide models for successful interaction among ruler and ruled in a variety of government styles, but any hierarchical system can be badly abused if the man at the top is corrupt. This raises the issue of how a ruler is put in position and how he can be removed.

Tung does not discuss how the monarchical, Son of Heaven achieves his position, nor is he clear about the role of the
common people in this. Although Tung's theory does not eliminate the possibility for Heaven bestowing the Mandate in response to the people's wishes, he does not give any indication that the people have more than an indirect role in approving who should rule. Tung clearly believes that Heaven's purpose is to benefit the people, but he gives no indication that the people have any role in deciding who will be their model and guide toward goodness.

A second consequence of this cosmological rationale for correct government is that the concept of "revolution" has a rather circumscribed meaning. Tung, like Mencius, suggests that improper rule can lead to a loss of the Mandate of Heaven. If the Mandate is withdrawn by Heaven, then this is tantamount to encouraging the overthrow of the ruler in question. This is "revolution." But a revolution is supposed not to overthrow the monarchical system, but instead to restore it. The ruler who loses the Mandate has deviated from the name "ruler." His role performance has strayed from the duties inherent in his status as Son of Heaven. Thus, "revolution" is an attempt to "rectify names and titles," that is, to re-establish a real ruler over the people. This genuine ruler must model himself after the Way of Heaven and mold his particular ruling activities following Heaven's principles exemplified by the actions of the early Sage-kings.
Tung does not explain, however, how the people know for certain that the mandate has been withdrawn. Do portents and calamities appear with different frequency and intensity? How can the ministers, for example, decide if Heaven is only cautioning the ruler or is showing that the mandate has been withdrawn? Is a successful revolt by the people the only criterion by which to determine genuine loss of the mandate? Tung does not deal with these issues.

Further, Tung does not provide much information about how it is possible for his contemporaries to recognize that any given ruler has actually received the mandate. Tung occasionally mentions the appearance of auspicious natural signs, but these are difficult to interpret accurately.

The second implication for political thought in Tung's scheme involves the concept of ruler. Because the monarchical system is based on cosmology, the ruler is locked into a hierarchical web of statuses that limits his power both in principle and in fact. It is correct to conclude that Tung's ruler is authoritarian and, because of his educative functions, paternalistic. But these terms must be qualified due to the ruler's status as Son of Heaven. He is subordinate to the will of Heaven expressed in the mandate; and Tung clearly indicates, as we have seen, that the mandate imposes heavy duties upon the ruler. These duties are explicated in detail by the ministers in consultation with classical texts and by interpretation of
anomalous natural phenomena. This institutional constraint that the ministers exert on the ruler's power cannot be underestimated. Tung's idea of the necessary correlative interaction between superior and subordinate which unites the two in cooperative activity produces significant ramifications. The ruler, in applying the principles of Yin and Yang in his political activity, is required by these cosmological principles to interact with his ministers. To isolate himself and become despotic would be contrary to the Way of Heaven, ensuring loss of the Mandate. Tung's formulation of cosmologically based constraints and restraints of the ruler is an important contribution to Confucian theory. His thorough explication of the ruler's social interaction and his subordination to Heaven is an attempt to prevent the ruler from becoming a tyrant. Tung has fixed the ruler in a tight-knit net of relationships that circumscribe his actions. Admittedly, in practice the ruler may choose to ignore his ministers, but the complexity of government is such that he cannot rule without assistance. Therefore, Tung describes the optional form that assistance should take.

However, the constraints from Heaven that temper authoritarian ruler raise problems that Tung does not answer. First, there are the difficulties of recognizing a portent or warning for what it is. Eclipses of the sun and moon, major earthquakes, floods, and famines constitute easy
cases. But what about earth tremors that may occur frequently in various regions; what about heavy rains, unusually hot days, or plant diseases; or what about the birth of deformed animals or strange flights of birds? Do these constitute warnings? How severe or anomalous an occurrence must there be to qualify as an unambiguous portent or warning? Further, is there a frequency issue? It would seem that strange natural phenomena occur almost daily. How do the ministers select and record genuine portents and warnings from Heaven? Tung does not give much assistance on this point.

A second difficulty is even greater. Once a portent or warning is observed and reported as such, how does a minister interpret it? Assume that Heaven is displeased with an aspect of the ruler's activities and responds with a given portent, say an earthquake. There would seem to be a near infinite range of possibilities the minister can and must select from. For example, there may be structural errors, that is, an incorrect hierarchical arrangement of ministers, or perhaps the ruler's own virtue is deficient. Perhaps the ruler is not educating the people properly, or has sacrificed inappropriately to Heaven or his ancestors. The list is endless and it appears the minister could interpret any given portent purely on the basis of his own personal or clique-influenced bias. The range of the possible "bias" also is great, ranging from personal
jealousy to political intrigue. Academic bias also enters into the situation because the ministers might adhere to different schools of philosophical commentary on the texts, which could influence judgment of historical events.

It is to Tung's credit, however, that he emphasized the negative role of natural anomalies. In the later Han, portents were more often used to encourage the ruler in various endeavors rather than to restrict his actions. Nevertheless, the modern scholar is left with considerable reservations about how well the will of Heaven can be understood from portents and warnings. The same criticisms apply, though with somewhat less force, to Tung's appeals to the historical models embodied by the Sages. In these cases at least the minister can evaluate somewhat more precise facts, although these historical passages are often cryptic and ambiguous even with the use of additional textual commentaries. Nevertheless, in both cases of warnings from Heaven through contemporaneous natural phenomena and of historical interpretation, the ministers, according to Tung's philosophy, have a significant role in limiting the ruler's power through their interpretations of events.

7.3 **THE RULER'S METHODS OF EDUCATION**

According to Tung's theory, the ruler has three general means of directing the refinement of man. First, the ruler can change or adjust the customs, including prescribing new music, sumptuary laws, dress codes, ceremonies, and the like. Customary ways of social interaction may be slow to change, but if the ruler selects effective ministers, changes will occur. It must be mentioned, however, that people's habits of mind and action generally resist change, thus imperial directives, whether exhortatory or backed by threats, might be slow to influence significant change. Tung may misjudge the complexity of this issue.

Second, the ruler himself can act as a virtuous model for the people. Through his own performance of sacrifices to Heaven, earth, and ancestors, through his wise administration of ministers, and through his love for the people he stimulates his subjects to become good. This means that a good ruler gathers good men around him, and their exceptional qualities influence the people directly, while at the same time reflecting the guiding virtues of their superior and model, the ruler. Tung's detailed analysis of the arrangement, functions, and evaluation of ministers is an addition to earlier Confucian theories. The "ruler as model" rests upon the assumption that if a superior is good, then subordinates will recognize this and flock to his side and seek to be his loyal subjects.
Practically this is true to a certain extent. Organizations of people today, whether volunteers or employees, often do perform better if they respect their superior officers or employers. However, personal contact seems to be an important ingredient in the success of role models. In the case of larger governmental bureaucracies, it is increasingly difficult to have personal contact with the apex of the hierarchy. Given the limited communications system of Tung's era, plus the rather protected isolation of the ruler from the masses, serious questions can be raised about how effective a model the ruler could be. Tung's theory answers this in part by providing detailed methods of evaluating ministerial performance. Tung recognizes that for the optimum results from socialization there must be a regulated, tested range of ministers. He shows that the ruler requires good ministers, for even if the ruler were truly Sage-like, he must rely on ministers to assist his education of the people.

Although Tung asserts that the ruler should model himself after Heaven so the people will follow him, he does not explain in detail the mechanisms by which the ministers actually assist the people to see the model, let alone understand what they see. This is a significant issue because a role model must be observed repeatedly before his influence is felt. This holds in the family and in limited social groupings, and it must hold for the political realm
as well. Socialization by example from the ruler to the masses would seem a much more complex task than Tung recognizes. Tung's theory answers this criticism in part by means of his hierarchy of statuses and roles. The form of society is such that the ruler's model is amplified through all the levels of human relationships. By ensuring that the scheme of duties and virtues follows the Way of Heaven, the ruler magnifies his effectiveness as model.

Third, the ruler can encourage man to change his character through his application of rewards and punishments. This characterizes the ruler more as an educating guide of man. This combination of powers seems to be the most effective at the ruler's disposal. We need to emphasize especially Tung's frequent references to punishments (hsing) in the Ch'ün-ch'iü fan-lyu. Yin and Yang theory, as we have seen, gives support to Tung's analysis of punishments. Yin is the punishment of Heaven (and the ruler) and Yang is the virtue (te) of Heaven (and the ruler). Yang, of course, dominates Yin, except in times when Yin should dominate. Thus, just as Yin dominates in winter, in times of internal chaos or strife, the ruler would be justified in increasing punishments. But at all times punishments must be subordinated to proper principles of application. The ruler must use punishments sparingly, and apply them only at proper times (such as executions in autumn) and at proper places.
Tung's theory of the Four Seasons, combined with Yin as punishment and Yang as virtue, presents a rudimentary theory of justice. Tung states that timeliness is an important part of moral and political activity. Time adds a significant dimension to actions within the human relationships. Self-discipline requires knowledge of timely emotions, for example, and ruling effectiveness requires knowledge of timely rewards and punishments. Man and the ruler can turn to cosmic models that demonstrate seasonal order. Government, Tung states, must preserve this order in its activity. The people have varying needs in different seasons, and the good ruler will be cognizant of these and act accordingly. To punish capital crimes in spring or to present promotions and rewards in winter violates the Yin and Yang. There are cosmological justifications for political actions. When the ruler makes these known, he displays a form of justice and strengthens the effectiveness of his rule.

Tung's analysis of punishments in the Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lyu is an important modification of Confucian theory. Tung, like Confucius, does not want the ruler to rely on punishments too much. He repeatedly warns of their possible misuse. Nevertheless, Tung like the Legalists shows that the threat and use of punishments are a necessary component of ruling. But Tung gives a cosmological basis to this fact that ensures that punishments are always subordinated to the
Confucian virtues. The Legalist view is thereby integrated into Tung's theory and has a different application. Tung's willingness to accept and argue for the need for coercive power in the hands of the ruler is a refreshing breath of practical wisdom. There are those who cannot be ordered, controlled, or regulated in any other way. Tung recognizes, further, that penalties (fa) or punishments need not be viewed only as forms of applied violence. In fact, he gives the impression that the threat and application of punishments are a heuristic form of educative discipline. Once man is able to discipline himself, he is refined enough to consider punishments in a neutral manner. If man is good he need not fear punishments.

In conclusion, Tung's theory shows that the good man is both a product of the external socialization of an ordered society, and a self-directed participant in that socialization. The ideal social and political environment provides the means for his habituation, learning of principles, and understanding of what activities are praised and blamed. This gives rise to man's own sense of correctness. When this is refined, he can creatively apply learned principles to the variety of his own affairs. The education of the ruler therefore develops in man self-discipline and the possibility for him to be creative. Thus, Tung's theory of the ideal, ordered society ensures room for individual freedom.
Appendix A

GLCSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>sorrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>love</td>
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<tr>
<td>ai-chen</td>
<td>loving others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>peace, peaceful</td>
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<tr>
<td>chang</td>
<td>growth</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch'ang</td>
<td>constant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cn'en</td>
<td>minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheng</td>
<td>rectification, correct</td>
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<tr>
<td>cheng</td>
<td>government, management</td>
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<tr>
<td>ch'eng</td>
<td>complete, perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheng-o</td>
<td>rectification of oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheng-tao</td>
<td>the way of government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheng-ming</td>
<td>rectification of names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheng-ming-hao</td>
<td>rectification of names and titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'i</td>
<td>vital forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>chi-hsi</td>
<td>gather habits</td>
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<tr>
<td>chiao</td>
<td>a sacrifice</td>
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<tr>
<td>chiao</td>
<td>educate, education</td>
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<tr>
<td>chien</td>
<td>control, regulate, regulation</td>
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<tr>
<td>chien</td>
<td>permeate, statue</td>
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<tr>
<td>chien</td>
<td>debase, despised, lowly</td>
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<tr>
<td>chien</td>
<td>unite (with)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
chien-jen 兼人 unite the people
chih 志 will, purpose
chih 職 duties (of position or office)
chih 止 stop, restrict
chih 質 basic substance; unformed raw substance
chih 直 proper, fitting
chih 治 order
chih 智 knowledge
chih 制 regulate
chih 禁 restriction
chih-ch'ü 直處 proper place
ch'ing 金 metal
ch'ing 清 coolness
ch'ing 經 rule (of Heaven); classic books
ch'ing 敬 respect
ch'ing 情 emotions
ch'ing 慶 honors
ch'ing 郷 minister
ch'u 主 control, govern, rule
ch'ü 處 place
ch'uan 權 authority (to influence, assess, balance)
chün 君 ruler, morally superior man
chün-tzu 君子 ruler, morally superior man
Ch'ün-ch'iu 春秋 Spring and Autumn Annals
Ch'ün-ca'iu fan-ju 春秋繁露 Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals.
chung 中 middle
chung 忠 loyalty
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>laws, method</td>
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<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>penalties</td>
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<tr>
<td>feng</td>
<td>customs</td>
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<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>father</td>
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<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td>disasters, warnings</td>
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<tr>
<td>hao</td>
<td>love, attracted to</td>
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<tr>
<td>hao</td>
<td>title, status</td>
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<tr>
<td>hao-vi</td>
<td>fond of righteousness</td>
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<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>harmony</td>
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<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>correlate, correlation, correlatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>bo-lei</td>
<td>correlation of categories</td>
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<tr>
<td>hou</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<td>hou</td>
<td>marquis</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsi</td>
<td>joy</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsi</td>
<td>customs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h sia</td>
<td>subordinate, lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n sia</td>
<td>filial piety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hsiao-ien</td>
<td>&quot;small man,&quot; common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hsiao-min</td>
<td>&quot;small people,&quot; common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hsien</td>
<td>goodness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hsien-ien</td>
<td>good man</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsien-wang</td>
<td>early kings of antiquity</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsin</td>
<td>mind, heart</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsin</td>
<td>faithfulness</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsin</td>
<td>nature (of man), human character</td>
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<tr>
<td>hsin</td>
<td>activity, behavior, power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hsin</td>
<td>punishments</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
hsi-su 习俗 habits, customs and practices
hua 化 transformed
jiang 让 humility
jen 人 man
jen 仁 benevolence, love for others
jen 任 appoint, employ, duty
jen 植 restrain, restraint
jen-lun 人伦 human relationships
jen-tao 人道 way of man
kai 改 to correct
kuan 官 officials, offices, appoint to office
kuei 貴 honor, honored
kung 公 duke, ducal minister
kung 功 accomplishments
kue 國 state, country
kue-chia 國家 country
le 樂 happy, happiness, pleasure
li 理 propriety, rules of propriety, rites
li 理 principles
li 利 benefit, profit
luan 亂 chaos, disorder
lun 倫 relationship (human)
min 民 people
ming 命 mandate, command, life
ming 名 name, role
ming 間 closed eyes, unawakened
my 木 wood
nan 男  branch
neng 能  function, ability
ni 逆  deviation
ni-shun 逆順  deviation and conformity
nu 怒  anger
nuan 暖  warmth
c 我  I, self
c 恶  evil, rejected from, bad
cu 留  match
ua 伯  earl
pa 邑  city
pai-hsing 百姓  "hundred surnames," the people
pei 卑  contemptible, lowly
pe'ei 配  match
pen 本  foundation, root, fundamentals
pi 必  must
p'i-fu 匹夫  common people
pian 變  change
cian-hsi-su 變習俗  change customs and habits
pieh 別  differentiated
san-kang 三綱  The Three Bonds
san-min 散民  common people
shan 善  good, goodness
shang 賞  rewards
shang 上  superior, higher, upper
shang 聖  Sage, Sages of antiquity
shang-ten 聖  Sagely man
shen 身 body (human)
shēng 生 birth, give birth to, give rise to, produce
shèng 胜 overcome, discipline
shì 使 order, arrange, employ
shì 世 world, age
shì 事 affairs (human, ruler's), public affairs
shì 失 deviation (used interchangeably with 異)
shì 士 ordinary officer (government)
shí 石 reality
shí 时 time, timeliness
shì-fei 是非 right and wrong
shòu 收 harvest
shèn-ching 受性命 receive nature and life
shèn-ming 受命 receive the Mandate
shù 数 principle
shuǐ 水 water
shùn 順 conform, conformity, comply, compliance
ssu-cheng 四政 four categories of governing (honors, rewards, penalties, and punishments)
ssu-snīh 四時 the Four Seasons
su 俗 practices (social), habits
tā-jen 大人 "great men," rulers and nobles
tā-kung 大綱 the Great Bonds (ruler-minister, husband-wife, father-son)
tāi-fu 大夫 great officer
t'ān 貪 selfish, avarice
tāo 道 the Way
德 virtue
得 attain, achieve
earth
悌 fraternal love
天 Heaven
天志 will of Heaven
天下 the world, the empire
天命 the Mandate of Heaven
天道 the Way of Heaven
天子 the Son of Heaven
天意 intentions of Heaven
calamities
storage, storing
respectable, respected, lofty
son
viscount
self-attainment
naturally, of itself, of themselves
earth
movement
the 10,000 things (the myriad things of the world)
king (the true king)
position, status
severe, majesty
refinement
thing, things
the Five Powers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wu-wei 無為</td>
<td>non-action, non-activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>yang 養</td>
<td>positive manifestation of ch'i</td>
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<tr>
<td>yang 養</td>
<td>nourishment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yen 嚴</td>
<td>severity</td>
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<tr>
<td>yi 一</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yi 一</td>
<td>righteousness, principle</td>
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<tr>
<td>yi 宜</td>
<td>proper, fitting, good</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yi 意</td>
<td>intentions, purpose</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>yi 異</td>
<td>portents</td>
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<td>yi-tsai-o 宜在自我</td>
<td>propriety within the self</td>
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<td>yin 隱</td>
<td>negative manifestation of ch'i</td>
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<td>yu 欲</td>
<td>desires</td>
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<td>yuan 元</td>
<td>origin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yueh 樂</td>
<td>music</td>
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<tr>
<td>yung 用</td>
<td>instruments (of change)</td>
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